CHRISTENDOM

HARLAN PAUL DOUGLASS, *Editor*

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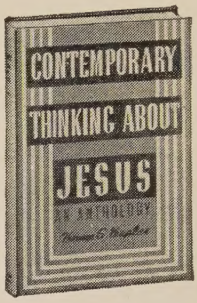

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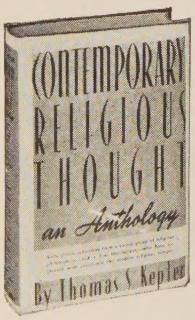

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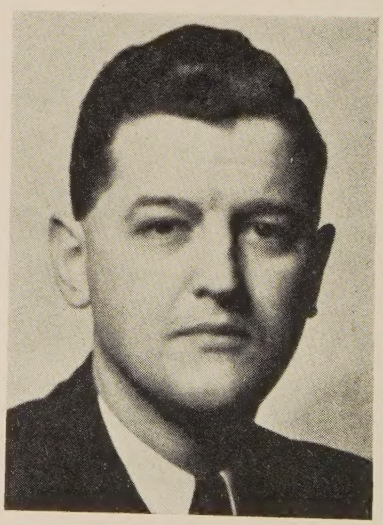
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

JOHN COLEMAN BENNETT is professor of Christian theology and ethics, in Union Theological Seminary, New York. A native of Canada, he was educated at Williams College, Oxford University and Union Theological Seminary. From 1931 to 1938 he was on the faculty of Auburn Theological Seminary and from 1938 to 1943 held the professorship of Christian Theology in the Pacific School of Religion. His book, *Social Salvation*, was followed by his outstanding contributions to the preparatory studies for the Oxford World Conference and by his *Christianity and Our World*, *The Church Faces the World* (1939), and the very significant volume, *Christian Realism* (1941). Professor Bennett is an ordained Congregational minister, and a member of the Editorial Council of CHRISTENDOM.

JOHN COLEMAN BENNETT

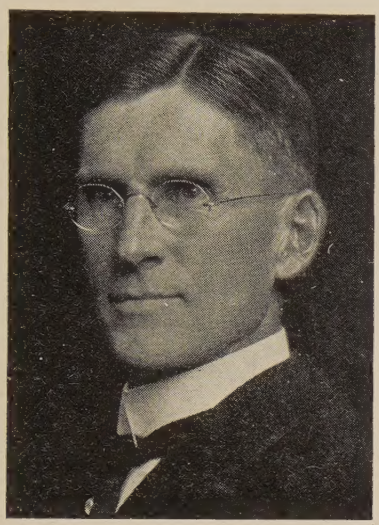
CYRIL K. GLOYN was born in Oregon in 1906. He received an A.B. from Occidental College, a B.D. from Union Theological Seminary, an M A. and a Ph.D. in philosophy from Columbia University. In 1930–31 he studied at the London School of Economics as a fellow of Union Theological Seminary and the National Council on Religion in Higher Education. Since 1938 he has been Professor of Philosophy and Religion at Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon. He is an ordained Congregational minister and the author of *The Church in the Social Order*, a study of Anglican social theory in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

GEORGE A. COE did his academic work at the University of Rochester, Boston University and Berlin. After teaching philosophy and general psychology at the



CYRIL K. GLOYN

University of Southern California and in Northwestern University, he concentrated upon the field of religious education and



GEORGE A. COE

the psychology of religion in the Union Theological Seminary and finally at Teachers College, Columbia University, where he is listed as Professor of Education (retired). Dr. Coe now resides at Claremont, California. He is one of the best known leaders of the religious education movement of this century. Of his half-score works, *What Is Christian Education?* and *Educating for Citizenship* are among the more recent. Dr. Coe's latest book, *What Religion Is Doing to Our Consciences*, was reviewed in our Autumn 1943 number.

F. ERNEST JOHNSON is executive secretary of the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. In that capacity he edits the weekly *Information Service* of the Council. He is also Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. In 1929–31 he organized and directed the International Survey of the Y.M.C.A.'s and the Y.W.C.A.'s in connection with which he traveled extensively in Europe and Asia. He was a member of the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State in 1937. Among his books are the following: *Economics and the Good Life*, *The Church and Society*, *The Social Gospel Re-examined*. Doctor Johnson is active in several committees working on inter-faith problems.

ABDEL ROSS WENTZ is a native of Pennsylvania and a graduate of Gettysburg College and Theological Seminary. His Doctor's degree was received for work in the German Universities of Leipzig, Berlin and Tübingen. In 1917 he was ordained to the Lutheran ministry and has since been connected with Gettysburg College and Seminary as professor of church history in the College, 1909–16, professor of church history in the Seminary, 1916–40, and finally as President of

F. ERNEST JOHNSON

the Seminary since 1940.

Dr. Wentz has been influential in theological education circles and active in

Lutheran affairs. He was a member of the executive committee of The World Conference on Faith and Order and one of the

ABDEL ROSS WENTZ

Committee of Fourteen appointed to set up the World Council of Churches. He has written extensively on Lutheran and educational topics.

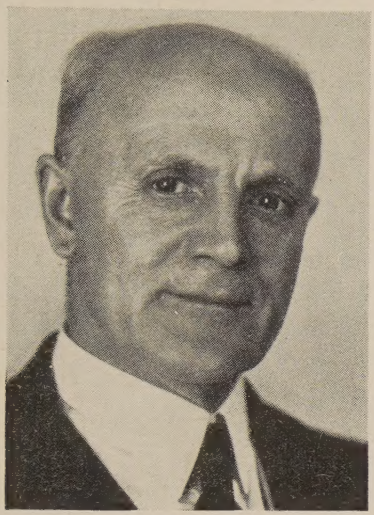
W. NORMAN PITTENGER studied at Columbia, Union Theological Seminary, and General Theological Seminary, New York. Since 1935 he has been Fellow and Tutor at General Seminary, teaching courses in apologetics and dogmatics. He is vice-chairman of the Episcopal Church Congress, chaplain of the Guild of Scholars, and a member of the Presiding Bishop's Commission on Post-Ordination Education. He has written the following books: *The Approach to Christianity*, *Christ and Christian Faith*, *Christian Faith and Practice*, *As His Follower*. He edited and contributed to the symposium, *This Holy Fellowship*, and wrote an essay on "Prayer in War-Time" for the English Symposium, *This War and Christian Ethics*. His new book, *The Christian Way in the Mod ern World* (a Book of the Month Clu selection), is now in press.

MARK A. DAWBER was born in Eng land, studied piano and organ at th London College of Music and had ex pected to make music his profession. Be coming deeply interested in social move ments he entered Ruskin College, Oxfor University, where he took both social an theological courses, and later studied a Boston University School of Theology Drew Theological Seminary and Garre Biblical Institute. He became professor o rural leadership at Boston Universit School of Theology, and in 1926 superin tendent of the department of town an country work of the Board of Hom Missions and Church Extension of th Methodist Episcopal Church. Since 193 Dr. Dawber has been Executive Secretar of the Home Missions Council.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER

ROGER HAZELTON is dean of the Chap and assistant professor of religion at Col rado College. He was educated at An

ıerst, the Chicago Theological Seminary, he University of Chicago, and Yale Jniversity, from which he received the



MARK A. DAWBER

octorate in 1937. He has been pastor of wo Congregational churches and taught eligion and philosophy in Olivet College, Michigan. His interest in the problems of rotestant worship is expressed in his ecent book, *The Root and Flower of Prayer.*

The chief authors of the *Report of the merican Theological Committee* are: GEORGE V. RICHARDS, president-emeritus of Lanaster Theological Seminary, Lancaster, a., and CLARENCE T. CRAIG, Oberlin raduate School of Theology.

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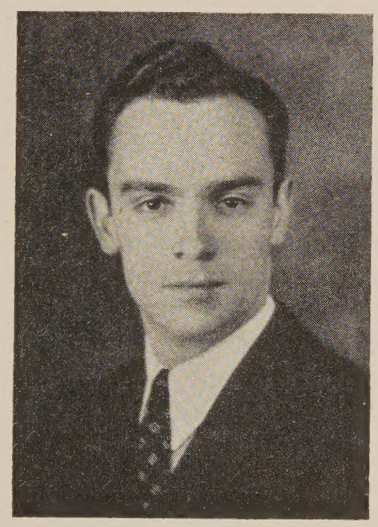

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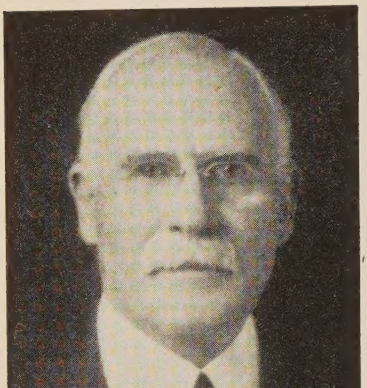
WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN



WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN

THE passing of William Adams Brown on Decer ber 15, 1943, leaves an empty place against the sl on the world church horizon. For he was one of tl three or four most eminent leaders of the moveme for Christian unity and his influence had been fe literally throughout the earth. The sense in whi this is true does not imply the spectacular; and ev those who knew him best knew in most cases only pa of him. He was a many sided individual; and h energy and zeal found expression in an astonishir variety of activities. He was, for example, an artist no mean ability; and as a lover of roses he secur quite astonishing results for an amateur. Yet pro ably not one person in a thousand of those who kn Dr. Brown, the theologian and teacher, knew th side of his nature.

Out of thirty years of association with him in many different contexts — many them such as to afford intimate fellowship — one draws certain outstanding impre sions. The hospitality of his mind, his power of analysis and of organization of thoug his vigorous contemporaneity based on a profound knowledge of history, and his u divided devotion to the achievement of Christian unity stand out as dominant in pressions.

Going back over half a century to the year 1891, we find the young theologic professor — he was then but twenty-six — calling together a committee of chur leaders in New York to begin what developed into the Greater New York Federation Churches — the oldest co-operative instrument in America concerned with gener Protestant responsibility. Noteworthy is the fact that that committee still exists " a standing committee of the Federation. It is known as the Comity Committee." Th is more significant than at first appears. It was not a group devoted simply to study unity. It sought to guide the establishment of new churches in a rapidly growing ci so as to achieve the utmost in Church service to the whole community. From his ear years Dr. Brown managed to combine the theoretical and the practical with singul effectiveness. He would see a need; then he would gather about him those who cou think their way through the problem of meeting the need. But he did not stop ther If necessary — and more often than not it was necessary — he would go out and rai the money to do something about it in the light of the group thinking that he ha stimulated. And then he would stand loyally behind the persons chosen as executiv to do the work. More often than not these executives were men whom he himself ha taught. Those who care to do so can follow through this sequence in the case of c ganizations of Christian unity from the New York Federation to the World Coun of Churches. In every case the pattern holds. There is not another leader of t

cumenical movement of whom *all* of these things would be characteristic. But Dr. Brown did not stop even with that kind of comprehensive achievement. He vrote the most discerning histories of what was being done. He penned the books vhich helped to keep his students — and a wide group of others throughout the Church — alert for the significant new trends and aware of their historic roots and prophetic mplications.

During the period of Dr. Brown's greatest productivity as an author, the present vriter was editorial secretary of the Religious Book Club. Its committee of judges se-ected a good many of Dr. Brown's books for recommendation to the members. And he records show that for a number of years only one other author of the books recom-nended was as popular as Dr. Brown with the members. When a book of his was on he list as "Book of the Month" ninety-six per cent of the members would buy it. The :orresponding figure in the case of certain other authors whose works were recom-nended ranged as low as sixty-five per cent.

Furthermore, Dr. Brown did not produce his books haphazardly. On one long European train trip, he outlined to me in some detail, chapter by chapter, five books ie was expecting to write. And before the years of his pilgrimage had run out he had vritten them all and added at least two others!

His first crossing to Europe was made in a "side-wheeler." His last was made by Clipper. When on that journey to the enthronement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Brown suggested that we discover whether anyone else on the plane had crossed the Atlantic by side-wheeler! None had. Many of the trips of later years were directly related to the work of the Universal Christian Council on Life and Work — of which Dr. Brown was the President — or of the World Council of Churches into which the former Council is merging. It was characteristic of Dr. Brown that these journeys were made at his own expense — thus relieving the organizations involved from the cost of his travel.

The wealth of experience gleaned by him on his many journeys in all parts of the world — as well as his excursions into history, into unfamiliar ecclesiastical traditions, and into new theories of religious interpretation — can be shared by those who care through reading his autobiography, *A Teacher and His Times*. It will be found not only illuminating but entertaining. For despite his serious, preoccupied and intense nature, Dr. Brown had a profound sense of humor.

At the memorial service held for him at the College of Preachers, Washington Cathedral — of which institution he was an honorary Canon — the prayers of his colleagues were inspired by the thought of his many-sided contributions to the world in which he had journeyed with such radiant and unquenchable faith. We found ourselves thanking God for William Adams Brown as scholar, teacher, author, theologian, friend of home missions, friend of foreign missions, friend of youth, lover of the Continental Churches, of the Anglican Churches, of the Eastern Orthodox Church, servant of higher education, and — supremely, all-inclusively — of the Church of Christ, Catholic and Universal.

From India, from the Near East, from the Far East, and from Australasia come moving evidences of the ways in which his vision and his energy reached out beyond the bounds of his own race, his own nation, his own culture, and even of his own faith.

His influence, one may venture to predict, will long endure in the minds and hearts Christian leaders of all denominations in the wide world, for he was in the truest sen an ecumenical figure.

The Joint Executive Committee serving in America the interests of the Wor Council put its tribute to him as its chairman in the following phrases, which was the author's privilege to suggest:

As teacher, preacher, author, organizer, benefactor, and promoter, Dr. Brown served t cause of Christian Unity through a long and amazingly fruitful life. He gave unceasingly an unsparingly of his thought, his time, his strength, and his money for the advancement ecumenical fellowship throughout the whole Church. Protestant in spirit and outlook, he w catholic in his inclusiveness and comprehensiveness. His knowledge of history, of languages an cultures, of persons in both Church and State, of facts as well as theories, of movements an programs was encyclopaedic. Yet with all his great learning he maintained a directness an simplicity of spirit which made him always the good companion, the welcome advocate, th skillful champion.

We can best honor his memory by carrying forward with undiscourageable zeal the work which he gave so much. And we can do it the better because of what he was and what he di for it and for us, his colleagues and co-workers.

With gratitude to God that his gifts to Dr. Brown were so full and so rare, we rejoice that n wasting time of invalidism was decreed for him. He worked fully and gladly to the end: an passed almost instantly from his full life on earth to the perfect life in the Heavenly Kingdom whose radiance had illumined his mind and inspired his faith from his youth to old age.

We bid him farewell with sadness and yet with a deeper joy — knowing that in the roundin out of such a life we see not tragedy but fulfillment; not death but translation.

HENRY SMITH LEIPER

NOTE AND COMMENT

CONTINUATION STUDIES IN LIFE AND WORK AND FAITH AND ORDER

SINCE the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences of 1937, Commissions have been steadily at work on studies in preparation for the next meeting of the World Council. CHRISTENDOM is privileged to present two highly important interim reports from this continuing work. Dr. John C. Bennett, who is chairman of the American section of the Life and Work studies, contributes a masterly piece of analysis and compression, summarizing the result of these studies to date.

We also present the first official publication of the results of the American Theological Committee authorized by the Continuation Committee of Faith and Order, which focuses the long labors of a distinguished group of theologians. The present summary is based both on committee deliberations and basic papers prepared by representatives of the major denominations as expressions of the positions of their respective churches. These papers will appear in later issues of CHRISTENDOM. Together they will constitute the most

important documents of American participation and corporate thinking in the field of Faith and Order which has occurred since the Edinburgh Conference.

THE FOURTH WASHINGTON CATHEDRAL CONFERENCE ON CHRISTIAN UNITY

THIS conference was initiated at the suggestion of the late William Adams Brown and Bishop Ivan Lee Holt, honorary Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral in Washington, and meets as the guest of the Cathedral's College of Preachers. It is a continuing voluntary group which brings leaders of the ecumenical movement together for intimate exchange of thought and common prayer. Its membership is limited by the accommodations of the College of Preachers.

At the fourth session, January 1 and 2, 1944, topics were presented by John C. Bennett, Mark A. Dawber, H. Paul Douglass, F. Ernest Johnson, E. Stanley Jones, J. Quinter Miller, Justin W. Nixon, A. L. Warnshuis, Theodore O. Wedel, and A. R. Wentz. A symposium on "The Canalizing of Grace" (agreed by all to be an unfortunate expression), based on correspondence between Dr. Leonard Hodgson, general secretary of the Faith and Order Movement, and Dr. J. J. Banninga, long a missionary in India, was led by Dr. Banninga and participated in by Roswell Barnes, Hugh C. Burr, Floyd Tompkins, and Angus Dun, Bishop-elect of the Washington Diocese. A memorial service was held for the late William Adams Brown, conducted by Henry Smith Leiper.

In addition to Dr. Bennett's paper, CHRISTENDOM has drawn heavily in this number upon materials presented at the Washington Conference in the articles by Drs. Johnson, Wentz and Dawber. A current issue of the Federal Council's *Information Service* is summarizing the whole material of the Conference. It is planned to hold a fifth session at the end of 1944.

EBB AND FLOW OF THE TIDES OF UNITY IN 1943

THE idea of a united church for post-war China was strongly endorsed by an influential gathering of leaders representing thirteen denominations held in Chentu.

With a view to collaboration with the World Council of Churches, the Reformed and Lutheran Churches of Hungary have established an Ecumenical Council.

The rather static phase reached by the English Free Churches in the attempts to effect closer relationship is reflected in the interim report of the Committee on Co-operation which was unprepared to recommend any specific action.

Baptists in Canada are now divided into three regional groups. A com-

mittee has recently been appointed to explore the possibility of their union under a triennial general assembly.

Majority and minority reports from the Protestant Episcopal Commission authorized to negotiate for organic union with the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., had been prepared for submission to the General Convention meeting in October, 1943. The minority report had called for a reconstitution of the Commission so that it would be dominated by new membership and for a delay of a period of years before specific terms of union should be formulated. Rather than face the divisive effect of sharp disagreements in the Convention, both parties in the Commission finally agreed on a compromised resolution which was adopted. This continued the Commission with moderate changes in personnel and agreed to refer the issue to the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops before final action. No further action on the negotiations was taken by the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. during the year.

The Joint Committee on Union of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., and U.S. (Northern and Southern), presented to their respective bodies for discussion a proposed confession of faith and directory of worship, but did not ask immediate action upon them.

Discussions of closer relationships between Baptists and Disciples of Christ were continued under the authorization of previous years by a committee meeting in Chicago in December 1943. The discussion developed numerous points of possible co-operation which will be co-ordinated and presented to the two churches as a plan of action. The present conversations did not propose the actual merger of the two groups. The recent publication of a hymnal jointly prepared by authorized Disciples and Baptist representatives marks a significant step in closer relationship.

A movement aimed at creating a united front for Eastern Orthodox Churches in America took a long step forward in the organization in December of the Federated Orthodox Greek Catholic Primary Jurisdictions in America. A constitution was adopted and central offices will be set up in New York City. This Federation includes one wing of the Russian Church together with the Serbian, Ukrainian, Carpatho-Russian, Roumanian and Syrian Churches. The significance of the Federation is limited by the fact that it is constituted by agreement of administrative authorities rather than by canonical action of the Churches themselves. It is expected, however, to develop many forms of co-operation and a central school for theological education, to be conducted in English. The Federation has announced its purpose to apply for membership in the Federal Council of Churches.

(*Continued on page 287*)

CHRISTENDOM

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A PRAYER OF ST. NERSES

ALL-MERCIFUL LORD, have mercy upon all Thy faithful, on those who are mine, and on those who are strangers; on those whom I know, and those whom I know not; on the living and on the dead; and forgive also my enemies, and those who hate me, the trespasses that they have committed against me; turn them from the malice which they bear towards me, that they may be worthy of Thy mercy. Have mercy upon Thy creatures and upon me, a manifold sinner.

(*From the Ancient Armenian Book of Office and Divine Liturgy.*)

RESULTS OF AN ECUMENICAL STUDY

By JOHN C. BENNETT

THE distinction between *Life and Work* and *Faith and Order* has been altered as a result of the Oxford Conference. No longer is it assumed that Christian action can be discussed apart from faith and theology. The preparation for Oxford, largely because of Dr. J. H. Oldham's vision, included a wide range of theological problems as can be seen by the titles of the books which were written as a part of that preparation; such titles as *The Christian Understanding of Man*, *The Christian Faith and the Common Life*, *The Kingdom of God and History*. The difference between *Life and Work* and *Faith and Order* is that the former deals with the problems of faith and theology which affect Christian co-operation in the world and the latter deals with the problems of faith and theology which affect organic union of the churches. There is little or no correlation between the problems in the two fields. Many who share Catholic views of the ministry and sacraments are in essential agreement with large groups of Protestants who stress the social responsibility of the church. On the other hand differences concerning what can be expected in history may so sharply divide Protestants that co-operation in social action becomes impossible.

During this war the Study Department of the World Council of Churches, a continuing project of *Life and Work*, has given most of its attention to the subject of "the ethical reality and function of the church." Nearly four years of work on that subject have produced important results which should be reported to the churches. This article is an attempt to report them. The subject is not well worded. Its purpose is to ask what kind of influence the church should expect to have on the character of civilization and particularly on the ethical decisions of its members in the world in view of its own essential nature. It is evident that, as one of the writers in this study put it, "the church has ceased to give form to life," even to the life of its own members in the world. This is a part of the crisis of our time. What in the future should be the church's strategy in seeking to influence the institutions and the general spiritual climate of the world?

The discussion of this subject has been carried on largely through

the intensive work of one American group that has met regularly for three years in Chicago, and the preparation and circulation of papers, two of which have come from the Chicago group and two from the European continent. One larger study conference was held in Toronto that brought together about fifty churchmen, many of them theologians, from the United States and Canada. In addition there have been groups on the European continent which have participated in the study. The Chicago group represents many different communions and also quite diverse types of theology, and yet it has been able to unite on a common platform which covers a wide range of convictions about Christian doctrine and practice. Dr. Visser 't Hooft and Dr. Emil Brunner represent an opposite emphasis to that of the Chicago group later; though as I shall show there is more overlapping between these two points of view than at first seemed possible. While this discussion was at its height it was not possible to make much contact with British thinkers. Also, unfortunately, except for a few comments on the papers, there has been no Anglo-Catholic or Greek Orthodox participation. The important thing to note is that this discussion has been between Protestants who start from entirely different assumptions about the relationship between Christianity and the world but who have the same deep desire to extend the influence of the church upon the public life of the world as well as upon the private life of its members.

I

Before I analyze the results of the discussion it is necessary to explain that much of it was carried on in terms of the concepts of *Corpus Christianum* and *Corpus Christi*. *Corpus Christianum* refers to the unity of church and society, to "Christian civilization" whether in its medieval form or in the form of the "Christian nation" which developed after the Reformation. Many hopes for the future that are expressed today take the form of hopes for a "new Christendom" or for a new *Corpus Christianum*. Visser 't Hooft devotes the greater part of a brilliant memorandum to demolishing the idea of a *Corpus Christianum* on Biblical, theological and historical grounds. He believes that, as a result of the obvious secularization of society taking today in so many places an anti-religious and even demonic form, we now see more clearly where we are. The claims for the existence of a Christian civilization were largely based upon self-deception. Men

took their "dreams for realities." Now we are back in the situation which we find in the New Testament period, with the church forced back upon itself. Brunner agrees with Visser 't Hooft and goes so far as to say that the whole process of secularization has been a "defictionizing" of the world. The Christian civilization was largely a fiction. Over against the idea of the *Corpus Christianum*, Visser 't Hooft sets that of the *Corpus Christi* which he takes to be the New Testament conception of the Church. The life of the *Corpus Christi* is ethical through and through. It has responsibility for the actions of its members in the world, but it has no illusions about civilization; and any contribution it makes to civilization is indirect. It is important to say again that both Visser 't Hooft and Brunner are deeply concerned to have the church influence the world. Neither intentionally allows Christian pessimism about the world to be an escape from social responsibility. The casual reader of their papers might fail to realize that. What Visser 't Hooft is really seeking may be seen in a recent article by him in which he deals with the new social activism of the German Churches. He says:

> They have discovered that the Church has a mission to fulfill in relation to public life; they have recognized that there is no such thing as the autonomy of politics or of economics and they have worked hard to lay the foundation for a Church of the future which will be at once more independent from the world and more truly serving of the nation as a whole. (*Christianity and Crisis*, December 13, 1943.)

Those last words express Visser 't Hooft's own conviction that in order to perform its service to the world the church must be independent of the world. The Chicago documents and almost all American contributors to the discussion take a more hopeful view of the world and would seek a new *Corpus Christianum* without the illusions which have usually accompanied all claims that a civilization is Christian. An excellent statement of this point of view may be found in Professor George Thomas' article in CHRISTENDOM (Winter 1942).

II

Points of General Agreement in the Discussion

1. *A high conception of the church as a God-given community of faith and love, coupled with all shades of differences concerning the church as an institution.*

One solid result of the ecumenical experience of recent years is that Christians of very different backgrounds so far as the doctrine of the

church is concerned have at least come to see that the Christian community is a given factor which is universal and which conditions the spiritual growth of the individual. There is here a view that goes beyond individualism, localism (the bad form of "Congregationalism"!) and denominationalism. This conception is in a real sense Catholic, though it need not be Catholic at all in its view of the institution or in the idea of the ministry.

2. *That the church should not be regarded as an exclusive community of the righteous but rather as a community of sinners.*

This principle is the protection against the kind of sectarianism which encourages self-righteousness. The church is for needy people and is a community of those who know that they are sinners but who recognize themselves as judged according to the Christian standard. They should have faith and they should grow in love.

3. *That the church should never be identified with the Kingdom of God but be kept under the judgment of the Kingdom.*

As I have said, all of this discussion has been carried on by Protestants and the conviction has pervaded it that one of the permanently valid elements in Protestantism is that it provides more clearly than Catholicism for criticism of the church in every situation.

4. *That the* **Corpus Christianum** *as we have known it in its Medieval or its Reformation forms has in fact been broken.*

The degree of its breaking down varies from region to region, with some aspects of the *Corpus Christianum* remaining in Sweden and Britain and with the complete loss of it in Germany. In some countries, such as Spain, the form remains but it is deeply corrupted. America retains many Christian ethical assumptions by which its public life is still judged.

5. *That the* **Corpus Christianum** *was never all that it claimed to be and that it did often involve the disastrous mistake of using Christian sanctions to support highly ambiguous forms of civilization.*

While this would be admitted on all sides, it would still be vigorously maintained by most of the American participants in the discussion that the *Corpus Christianum* in the past had some reality and that the loss of it is tragic. This loss, they believe, is far more than the "defictionization" of which Brunner writes. The *Corpus Christianum*

may have always been a source of temptation to the Church to lower its standards and dilute its faith, but it did raise the level of life in the world to an astonishing extent; and it was probably no greater temptation to the church than is the temptation to social irresponsibility which comes whenever the church concentrates upon its inner life and rejoices in its freedom from the world.

6. *That the church does have responsibility for the evangelization of mankind as a whole.*

This conviction would be shared by all participants in the discussion. It is emphasized in Visser 't Hooft's distinction between "the world" as mankind and the "world" as "the realm of life which is as yet still dominated by sin." Responsibility for the world in the first sense, for its conversion to the Gospel and detachment from the world in the second sense are both characteristic of the *Corpus Christi*.

7. *That the church does have responsibility to give guidance to its members in regard to the decisions they must make in the world as citizens or as participants in the economic process.*

The nature of this guidance remains a matter of dispute, though the differences here are not as serious as they seemed to be at the beginning of this study. I think that it is of great significance that there is so much agreement here, and that it is at this point that no advice to return to the New Testament idea of the church can be followed today except in those nations in which Christians are a small minority or persecuted.

8. *That this responsibility includes at least negative criticism of institutions and political and economic programs and the promulgation of "middle axioms."*

Specific negative criticism of political and economic institutions is emphasized on all sides as a responsibility of the church. To this is added the so-called "middle axioms." This term goes back, so far as its present application is concerned, to Dr. J. H. Oldham. It became identified with the Oxford Conference and has been used quite widely ever since. It refers to next steps or immediate goals which have behind them a Christian sanction and which lie somewhere between general principles and specific programs. They do not have universal validity. They apply to this historic moment. They leave many important questions open but they do establish the direction in which

society should move. Recent statements about world order such as the "Pillars of Peace" endorsed by the Federal Council of Churches and the Inter-Faith Declaration about the peace, have been in this area of the "middle axiom." I am not sure that the term is well chosen because it suggests a greater degree of self-evidence than is justified; but there is here a concept of great importance that needs more clarification. It means that there are goals for which Christians as Christians should strive in the midst of the relativities of contemporary events.

9. *That the church should not identify itself or its gospel with particular political or economic programs or systems.*

There are two reasons for this. The first is the transcendence of Christianity. This transcendence should be preserved because it is true to the nature of Christianity. It provides a basis for judgment upon every social order and therefore avoids the danger that any institutions now or in the future may be given a false sanctity from their connection with the church or with symbols of the faith. When one considers the use of this false sanctity as a support for existing systems against the threat of revolutionary change, the importance of this principle of transcendence is obvious. The second reason for refusing to identify the church or the Gospel with particular programs or systems is that in all such matters there are involved judgments concerning which there is no distinctively Christian guidance and therefore concerning which Christians can be expected to differ. Sometimes these judgments involve technical problems but they may involve difficulties of prediction concerning human behavior or the weighing of such competing values as order and freedom in a very complicated situation in which alternatives are strictly limited.

10. *That the church should come to realize the life of* **agape** *in its own fellowship.*

There is great emphasis upon this in all of the discussion. It is stressed by those who believe in the desirability of seeking a new *Corpus Christianum* and by those who do not. Some of the finest statements of this are in the Chicago documents. The cleansing of the life of the church and the development within it of a truly Christian fellowship is regarded as a first requirement, though not "first" in the sense that other responsibilities should be suspended until this is achieved. If this were taken seriously it would have enormous in-

direct effects upon race relations in the world, upon class conflicts, and also upon reconciliation between national enemies. Think of the effect upon the nation if the American church were to overcome racial discrimination within its own life.

III

Points of Disagreement

1. *The extent to which there remains in Western society a residue of the* ***Corpus Christianum.***

Differences here naturally grow out of different national experiences. Probably the basic conflict of ideas that we see in this discussion is to be attributed to differences of experience in this regard quite as much as to differences of theology.

2. *The extent to which the New Testament conception of the church is normative for the actual organization and strategy of the contemporary church.*

Both Visser 't Hooft and Brunner make much of the similarity between our situation and that of the New Testament period, and one has difficulty in determining how far this conclusion is the result of a desire to have it so in the interests of Bible authority. The Chicago group indicates that even among them there is some disagreement about the authority of the New Testament in matters of church organization and strategy. I have suggested under the seventh point of agreement that the whole discussion does presuppose at least one factor which was not present in the New Testament period.

3. *The obligation of the Church to develop anew in each situation a* ***Corpus Christianum,*** *though avoiding the illusions which have accompanied that conception in the past.*

There is probably more agreement here than appears on the surface. There is however a great difference in mood and emphasis. Both Visser 't Hooft and Brunner rebel against the pretensions of the past and they seem inclined to make a clean sweep; yet both actually make room for a large measure of Christian responsibility for civilization. On the other hand all on the opposite side of the discussion are clear enough about the danger of illusions. If there had been Catholic participation in the study the contrasts would have been sharper. I think that the Chicago group and Professor Thomas see more clearly than Visser 't Hooft or Brunner that Christian love

within the Church must always strive to transform the whole of life whatever obstacles it may encounter.

4. The extent to which, in addition to negative criticism and the "middle axioms," direct social teaching and action by the church are legitimate.

I think that this subject is still a nest of confusions. The "middle axioms" are capable of considerable extension in the direction of positive social teaching. The greater source of confusion concerns what is meant by "action by the church." There would be general agreement that the church acts chiefly through its members who make their decisions in the world under the influence of its worship and teaching. Most of the emphasis would be on this indirect activity of the church rather than on action by its official agencies. On the other hand wide latitude is given for action by its ministers, by its Boards and Councils, so long as this is guarded by the understanding that on no debatable matter of public policy should the individual Christian feel that there is coercion of his conscience and by the understanding that no position to which these representatives of the church may be committed is a part of the Faith. One can find all the difficulties exemplified in the writings and public activities of Archbishop Temple. He goes as far as anyone in denying that the church should identify itself with particular programs, but at what point does he or do the various committees over which he presides represent the church? There may be occasions when this discussion becomes unreal. If we grant that the church should condemn particular programs and if we grant that it should support positive objectives ("middle axioms") what are we to do when we are at a moment of national decision in which there is only one real alternative program to what would be a fatefully false choice? The simple identification of the church with such movements as Prohibition or Pacifism is excluded. But there is a serious question if sometimes support of a positive program may not be clearly implied in the criticisms and the declared objectives which are regarded as belonging to the message of the church.

5. The extent to which we may have hope for the realization of Christian objectives in this world.

Again we come back to a difference which is fundamental and which has its roots in experience and in theology. What I find important is the extent to which those who take a negative attitude on this

basic problem are still ready to work for objectives which they share with Christians who have a more optimistic outlook. This difference is not faced squarely in the documents that underlie this report; but in Visser 't Hooft's recent study of the convictions of Christians in all non-Roman branches of the church he does show how close those who differ in their fundamental expectations can come together in their actions. He summarizes the conviction of those who reject ideas of progress and who maintain a sophisticated type of apocalyptic attitude in these words:

> Precisely because the Church is aware of Christ's actual Lordship [which is hidden from the world] and of its cosmic significance, it cannot but proclaim it to the whole wide world and call upon all powers, all groupings of men, and all individuals to recognize their true position — as powers who must choose between obedience and disobedience, and who dare not live and act as if the Resurrection had not taken place. When this call is heard, "signs" of the Reign of Christ will be found in human history. (*The Church and International Reconstruction*, p. 10.)

This quotation must be interpreted as accompanying an extreme statement of Christian pessimism about history. Neither Visser 't Hooft nor Brunner is far removed from such pessimism. Even so the above statement opens up possibilities of common action in spite of radical differences of theology.

IV

Issues which Need to be Explored Further

I have already suggested some of the problems which must be more thoroughly studied, the exploration of which might lead to an extension of the area of agreement. In this concluding section I shall bring these together and make a few new suggestions.

1. *The guidance that the church should give to its members who must act in the world.*

There is a vast difference between the situation in many nations today and the New Testament situation, and no mere return to the *Corpus Christi* of the New Testament can provide an adequate solution. A large part of the moral content of the lives of members of the churches consists of their decisions as citizens, as workers, as employers or as members of various kinds of social movements. The world and the church do overlap in large measure whatever our theological assumptions. Moreover the apocalyptic expectation that was characteristic of the New Testament church was not conducive to a sense

of responsibility for the life of social institutions and that expectation does not control the mind of the contemporary church.

2. *The development of the "middle axiom" concept and the working out of a body of Christian teaching under this head.*

Whatever one may think of the term "middle axiom" it stands for something that is very important. It is less pretentious than the kind of objectives which the Roman Catholics connect with "natural law," for it is not thought of as having universal validity. Whether or not there are relevant "middle axioms" that can be presented at a given time can only be determined by the success that Christians have in arriving at a consensus. At present there seems to be a remarkable consensus on post-war objectives among those who are in any way prepared to speak for the church, though there are profound differences concerning the war itself.

3. *The basis for co-operation between Christians and non-Christians.*

On all sides it is admitted that there must be co-operation between Christians and non-Christians. Those who have a place for "natural law" or a common morality that is independent of Christian faith, and those who in theory deny that there is any such basis for common action, still believe that there must be co-operation with all who seek justice and peace. Not only must we admit the necessity of such common action; we must also admit that, however we fit the fact into our theory of the church, the church has itself been corrected by movements which have been primarily secular, sometimes aggressively secular. The radical movements outside the church have disturbed its complacency and recalled it to essential elements in its own faith which it had neglected. The scientific movement together with tendencies connected with the rationalism of the Enlightenment have called the church to a better appreciation of the importance of intellectual integrity. All that we discover by experience about common ground between the church and the world will throw light on this problem of the *Corpus Christianum* and it will also have some bearing upon the claims which we make for the church.

4. *The possibility of emphasizing the duty to seek the formation of a new* ***Corpus Christianum*** *in each age, without self-deception and without losing the inner core of the church which preserves its independent base.*

Since we have found general agreement that the church does have responsibility for the institutions of the world and since we have no

guidance concerning fixed limits to the possibility of realizing Christian purposes in the institutions of the world, it would seem that there remain possibilities of combining a critical conception of the *Corpus Christianum* with the idea of the *Corpus Christi*, after it too is criticized in the light of the real differences between our situation and that which prevailed in the New Testament period. Here dogma should not prescribe what is possible in advance of our striving. The study, so far, has revealed different habits of mind but it has not shown that a larger measure of agreement is impossible if the concepts we use are adequately criticized.

5. *The development of types of church teaching and leadership which lack full official authority but which can give guidance which has great intrinsic authority concerning concrete problems.*

I refer to the kind of leadership that the Delaware Conference gave to the American Churches or the kind of leadership that the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission of the Churches for International Friendship and Social Responsibility gives to the British Churches. The Oxford Conference is another example. Here we have groups of churchmen who are appointed by the churches to study a problem and to formulate conclusions. Their reports are addressed *to* the churches rather than *for* the churches *to* the world; but it is expected that the world will overhear. Their conclusions do not commit the conscience of any member of the churches who disagrees. They have great weight but that does not grow out of any external ecclesiastical authority but only out of the confidence that the churches have in the insight of those who formulate them. This kind of teaching on very specific and controversial issues should have an important part in moulding the minds of Christians. It may show us the way in which the church can take risks in helping Christians to make judgments concerning the very mixed problems which history presents without identifying Christianity with their judgments.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION

By CYRIL K. GLOYN

THE basic premise of this paper is the necessity of working out a pattern of collaboration between the Soviet Union and the Christian world, not only during the present military alliance but after the war as well. As declared in the *World Alliance News Letter* for May, "The most powerful states must work together, or peace will be the preparation of another war. That is the cardinal fact. All difference and difficulties, fears and prejudices, real as they may be, ought to be subordinated to the main issue." My particular task in this paper is three-fold: to examine (1) the areas of agreement between Christian and Soviet culture; (2) the areas of disagreement (while recognizing that in its relations with the Christian world the Soviet State, though a political agency born of Communism, may or may not follow orthodox Communist doctrine); (3) to point out what seems to me to be the peculiar responsibility for the immediate future of those of us who accept the Christian interpretation of life and destiny.

I

Areas of Agreement. This is by far the easiest portion of the paper to formulate. Many of the objectives achieved by the Soviet Union are objectives which Christians have long accepted in principle but have largely failed to achieve in practice. To be sure, these objectives have been attained by a government avowedly atheistic. But if we think of religion in Coe's terms as conservation of the highest values we know, Russia has a dominant faith. Its ends and values are explicit, its certainties of a new earth, if not a new heaven, comparable to the apocalyptic certainties of the Christian. If the criterion of the religion of a country or a people be the total trend of its most ardent endeavors, then Russia has a religion. And if adherence to this faith and attainment of its objectives has necessitated, as is claimed, the repudiation of belief in God, this itself is but a reflection upon organized Christianity, and that not only in Russia. Out of Orthodox Catholicism and from one of the severest critics of Russian Communism

comes a recognition of its essentially religious nature: "Russian atheism, which was linked with socialism, is a religious phenomenon. In its foundations, there lay a love of justice." [1] Anyone familiar with Communist theory knows that it was the Communist protest against the evil, violence, and suffering of life and its sympathy with the unhappy, the destitute, and the downtrodden that conditioned Communist atheism. "They became atheists," says Berdyaev, "because they could not accept a Creator who made an evil, incomplete world full of suffering. . . . They themselves desired to make a better world in which there should be no such wickedness and suffering." [2]

If as Christians we are constrained to regard the Communist view as inadequate (an attitude dealt with in the second part of this paper) we are also under obligation to appraise the practical advances in human welfare made by Communists and the genuine altruistic spirit found among their leaders. Those advances are well known; suffice it, then, to refer briefly to the areas of agreement between Russia's achievements and the Christian program for man.

Community. As never before in history Russia has achieved a society in which the right of all men to work, to rest and leisure, to social security, to education, to non-discrimination on the basis of race, is a fact. Such a program has established itself *ipso facto* upon moral principles. What has been accomplished and is developing in Russia may never be called Christian, but it is doing the work that Christianity at its best has always tried to do. One of the essential Judaic contributions to Christian thought was the prophetic ideal of social justice. And, without any reference to either theology or economic theory, Jesus recognized as the basis of all human experience two things: the satisfaction of human need and the satisfaction of human association. He rested the "Last Judgment" on neither theological nor even respectable moralistic foundations, but upon whether one had been, or had not been, responsive to human hunger, thirst, homelessness, sickness, nakedness, and imprisonment.

It is in this connection that many see the Soviet program as singularly Christian in attitude and intention. The Dean of Canterbury writes:

> Russia's program at least befits a world of brothers. Or . . . to put the Christian conception of human life in another, though a kindred way, community is the essential truth about humanity; rejecting community we fly in the face of reality

every day, with inevitable frustration as the result of our blindness and ignorance.[3]

The various plans of the Russian Supreme Economic Council of Public Economy, he points out, have been built upon

those moral foundations which Christianity has always demanded, foundations which recognize that society is a family, that each member of society is a child of the family, has a claim upon the family from his birth and youth upwards, but that in response each member has a duty as well as a privilege, and when he or she comes of age, can only claim the rights of the family whilst performing his or her share of the duty of the family.[4]

This is not all of religion but it is an essential part of it, and in its devotion to the quest for community, the Russian atheistic communist puts many of us to shame.

Self and Society. Closely related to the foregoing is the Communist recognition that only in society does man realize himself; apart from it he is less than man. Man, being a social creature, greatly needs the help of his fellows. This does not mean only material needs (for all of which man depends upon the aid of his fellows), but also the need of their aid in acting according to reason and virtue (the specific character of the human being, the sense in which Aristotle spoke of man as being by nature a political animal, and in need of the education and aid granted him by his fellows). This is Christian as well as Aristotelian. And the organization of Soviet society is patterned upon it. From the beginning the citizen of the Soviet State consciously depends upon the whole community for his self realization. In contrast, Western culture has, since Rousseau's time, sedulously sought democracy under what Maritain terms "the deification of the fictitious individual, shut up in himself." [5] This despite the fact that Christian faith holds that apart from checks on his conduct man is likely to go in the wrong way.

I submit that, even while recognizing the dangers lurking within this relation of self to society as expressed in Communist practice, the Russian emphasis is much nearer Christian ethics than the self-centredness characteristic of the West. Furthermore, the economic organization of Soviet society, by shifting the emphasis of life from personal acquisition to socialist accumulation, removed at the outset one of the major pitfalls to self-realization within society. Property is not the only source of sin in society but unhealthy and unsocial development of the acquisitive tendencies has long exercised the mind

of Christian moralists and property distinctions have all too often hampered fellowship among men. Christianity is the sworn foe of covetousness; in its very essence covetousness is a denial of Christian teaching, a refusal to give up the selfish, independent life and seek security in the whole. "Soviet planned production," writes the Dean of Canterbury, "with one masterly stroke, severed the taproot of selfish acquisition. A shoot here and a shoot there may still arise and call for constant vigilance. The master shoot, however, wilts, because the master root is gone." "It is a happy order in which my more strenuous and profitable employment enriches others as well as, or even more than, myself." [6] To a considerable degree, therefore, the struggle between the egoistic and altruistic motives is resolved.

Equality. Christianity teaches the equality of all men. For the Christian, the community between men rests upon a basis of common humanity. And the Kingdom of Heaven of Christian apocalyptic thought becomes the universal community of mankind based on the sense of unity between man and man, expressing itself in the sharing of the means of life to meet human needs. In its organization the Soviet State, too, accepts and has accepted all along this equality. The 1936 Constitution (Article 123) explicitly affirms

> the equality of the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as the advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.

At once there appears the possibility of a unification of all human beings in a single community, irrespective of nationality or race. This the U.S.S.R. has realized.

The Russian settlement of the problem of national and racial minorities is a case in point. The basis of the adopted Constitution was absolute equality of all nationalities and races, with due representation in the central organs of government of all national republics and regions — and this despite the fact that the Russian Republic was overwhelmingly great in numbers and importance. It would have seemed natural that Russian representation should preponderate; to do so, however, would endanger the principle of national and racial equality. Accordingly, the Russian leaders deliberately used their power to establish not a Russian national supremacy, but a

genuinely non-national State. The result of this enlightened policy has been the growing richness of life and intercourse of the people to which all reports of Soviet Russia testify. The Dean of Canterbury writes:

> No one can wander through the Soviet Union as I have done and visit republic after republic, and see the mingling on terms of absolute equality of the people of the different nationalities, without a deep consciousness that a new thing has entered into the world of human relationships. . . . Quite obviously this mode of settling the problems of minorities is utterly opposed to all fascist solutions. Quite obviously, also, it is nearer than any solution yet proposed to satisfying Christian ethics. It offers a magnificent example to a troubled world.[7]

Historic Destiny. Various writers on Communist thought, both critics and apologists, have called attention to the conception, running through Russian history and woven into Russian Communist theory, of the Messianic mission of Russia. The recognition of this is essential if one is to understand the sociological determinism of Russian Marxism. "Marxism is not only a doctrine of historical and economic materialism . . . it is also a doctrine of deliverance . . . of the future perfect society in which man will not be dependent on economics, of the power and victory of man over the irrational forces of nature and society."[8] Indeed, herein is the soul of Marxism, not in its economic determinism. Berdyaev's *Origin of Russian Communism* indicates how deeply rooted in Russian history and the Russian soul was this teleological sense. Though hardly reconcilable with the Marxist materialistic doctrine, it was this idea, indigenous to Russian thought, which Russian Communism incorporated into its creed. And it explains much. Holding this belief the Communist views his own life as merely a single incident in the process by which this purpose is being achieved. Therefore he can endure hardship and even willingly sacrifice his life.

> His faith assures him that the process of history uses even the wickedness that opposes it to further its ends. He believes, that is to say, in something in the world greater and higher than himself, which works in him and in all human life and in all nature to create a perfected humanity. He believes also that in spite of, and even through all human opposition, it must eventually triumph because it is the reality of the world.[9]

The Western world would use different terminology. It would not ascribe Messianic attributes to the proletariat nor conceive of the proletariat as the new Israel. Yet, putting terminology to one side,

and considering only the attitude expressed in the Communist view of life, is not this teleological conception essentially religious? Even more significant, has not this essentially religious emphasis been lacking in much of Western thought? Reinhold Niebuhr has emphasized this:

> There is an implicit and mechanized sense of divine providence in the Marxist idea of a dialectic of history, presiding over historical destiny, which is, perhaps, closer to the Christian sense of providence than most of secular bourgeois culture with its excessive reliance upon the human will and its lack of any feeling for historical destiny.[10]

Man's destiny is in the hands of Providence; furthermore, man may not acknowledge this but by not doing so, he rejects the means of self-realization. These beliefs are a part of Christian faith. They are also a part of orthodox Russian Communism.

II

Areas of Disagreement. By way of preface to this second section of the discussion, let us recognize that nothing is to be gained by ignoring the differences existing between Christian and Soviet ideology. Nor on the other hand, does it seem wise to stress differences in ideology so as to make impossible collaboration between the two cultures. No good purpose is served, for example, by those passionately hopeful appreciations of Russia according to which Russia is held to be more Christian (in the "real" sense) than the Western world, to be in fact a Christian democracy. It is not that, even if it be true that economic equity has been realized more fully in Russia than in the West. Nor is it true to state, as did the Papal Encyclical, without detailed qualification as to what is meant, that Communism "is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would serve Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatever." It would be more accurate to say, with Archbishop Temple, "Communism is a heresy, but it is not anti-Christian."

Some points should be mentioned briefly in order to remove from the discussion unreal areas of disagreement. The first of these is the assumption that in contrasting the Christian world and the Soviet Union we are contrasting a religious and an irreligious culture. It is not true that ours is a religious culture; it is essentially secular. What is true is that we have not repudiated our ancestral faith and that much of what is best in our civilization has been derived from

our Judaic-Christian heritage. Neither is it true, as indicated earlier, that Soviet Russia is irreligious. What is true about orthodox Soviet ideology is that it conceives religion as a purely compensatory phenomenon which will disappear when the imperfection in social organization which generated it has been removed. To hurl charges of atheism against the Soviet Union is beside the point. The issue is between two ideologies as adequate descriptions of human experience.

So, too, nothing is gained by opposing Christian civilization and Communist culture, as the Papal Encyclical did, on the ground that the latter "strips man of his liberty, and robs human personality of its dignity." This is an unreal opposition until there is agreement as to the specific meaning and concrete interpretation of these ideals. By reason of differences in historic background and culture two peoples may view these ideals differently; they may disagree as to what types of activity strip "man of his liberty." Russian Communists, for example, are honestly shocked when told there is no freedom in the Soviet Union. Berdyaev tells of the young Russian who visited France some years ago and "found no freedom there." Discussion revealed that freedom to him meant not freedom of choice but freedom for the active changing of society. Liberty of choice, he held, divided and weakened; real constructive freedom came after a choice was made and the individual moved in a defined direction. And when the individual had merged himself in the collective whole he acquired enormous freedom in relation to the rest of the world, i.e., freedom to change that world! The asserted freedom of the French was of the kind that left everything unchanged: "You might turn out a government every week, but that altered nothing." Similarly would the Soviet citizen view the ideal of democracy. Freedom thought of primarily in political terms is illusory. Political equality demands economic equality. The Soviet Union has it; we lack it. A formal democracy involving substantial economic inequalities may have an illimitable amount of theoretical freedom but surely, to quote MacMurray, "there can be no hesitation in admitting that to surrender an unlimited amount of theoretical freedom for even a small amount of real freedom is to make a good bargain." [11] So, too, it is clear that even while asserting in theory that the value of the individual is his instrumental value to society, a culture which has abolished class distinctions is

compelled under normal conditions to act in terms of the ultimate value of the individual, whatever its theory may be. "It is so constructed that it must measure its successes and plan its system of co-operation in terms of individual needs actually supplied." [12]

III

With these qualifications, we turn to the areas of disagreement between Christian and orthodox Soviet thought. The issue, as has been stated, is between two systems of thought as adequate descriptions of human experience. No one will claim that the principles of Christianity have been more than partially realized in Western culture. But Christian theology has come out of a long heritage of experience. It has grappled with, conditioned, and been conditioned by, diverse cultures. It may, then, serve to indicate what are apt to prove "dead end" roads to new cultures on the march. Russia is such a culture.

Man and Religion. Christian thought would propose that Soviet Communism fails to appreciate the religious problem of man. Metaphysically, Soviet Communism is based upon an absolutely optimistic philosophy of man. In Soviet philosophy the omnicompetence of education as promoting rational progress is assumed once the new organization of society has taken place. Property distinctions are the source of sin; but remove them and man is free, via education, to move "upward and onward ever." Furthermore, religion itself is a resultant of the evils in a society based on property. (The Soviet State may determine its foreign policy by other than orthodox Marxist-Leninist principles but, as far as I can see, it still follows this analysis of religion.) Marx viewed religion as man's compensatory projection on the universe because of man's own frustration. (For some of what follows in this and the next two paragraphs I am indebted to H. G. Wood's analysis of Marxist philosophy in his *Christianity and Civilization.*) As Marx put it: "The omnipotence of God is nothing but the fantastic reflection of the impotence of people before nature and before the economic social relations created by themselves." Lenin, in carrying the theory further, sidestepped nature and frustration by nature, and concentrated on frustration by the social-economic order. Religion, so conceived, is regarded as "dope" because it turns men's minds from real remedies. The only genuine remedy for frustration is the social revolution.

Recognizing fully whatever is true in these contentions, they leave the nature of man and religion still unplumbed. Historic Christian thought has continually sought to balance a view of man which gives us faith in human possibilities with a view of man as sinner, emphasizing the dangers which beset human nature. This balanced view of man is the source of important social guidance. The Christian recognizes that given man as he is, — even man "reconditioned" by the removal of property distinctions and moulded by a socially conscious educational procedure — every social system is in danger of corruption by its very successes, that to quote Reinhold Niebuhr again, "human egotism will find a way of expressing itself in every new level of historical achievement." This serves as a warning against all forms of totalitarianism, recognizing that no man or group of men is good enough to hold all power. For always human power is tempted to extend itself. So, likewise, the Christian recognizes that the roots of historical evil lie deeper than any property relations within society. Man is more than a product of economic forces; even a classless society will exhibit the sensitive person who will declare, "O wretched man that I am!" Man, being what he is, can be frustrated by his own nature; therein lies his hope of salvation. Furthermore, the Christian recognizes that Lenin's cavalier thrusting aside frustration by nature as negligible compared with frustration by a social order overlooked the major frustration of all life: death. And in so far as religion *is*, in this connection, response to frustration by nature and an attempt to surmount this, it is something universal and human, having nothing to do with class membership. Here is an area not subject to domination. And it may explain in part why the Soviets, despite all their attempts to undermine religious faith, have for several years, albeit perhaps unwillingly, relaxed their opposition to religion and have now permitted the restoration of the Holy Synod and the election of the Patriarch of Moscow. Finally, the historic heritage of Christian thought enables it to say unequivocally that the relation which Communist thought describes as existing between religion and social conditions is not the whole truth of the matter. It is simply not true to say that religion has always been and is now a purely conservative force. (There are indications that this view is less orthodox now than formerly: the newspaper *Pravda* has pointed out that, in its early stages Christianity was a progressive force in the life of the people.)

Christian faith thus shares neither the Soviet view of man nor the orthodox Soviet travesty of religion. It recognizes that the emphasis on fear and frustration as leading man to religion does not explain either man or religion. "Man's extremity is God's opportunity" may be true enough but this fact alone does not explain why men continue to adhere to their religion when the situation which led them to embrace it has passed. Men turn to God in time of need, but they continue to trust him because they find him to be true and real. It is what a man finds in religion that matters, not the motive that first led him to it; an analysis of origins is never a statement of consequences. Nor is it true that religion is born only of frustration and fear; it is as intimately connected with birth and parenthood as with death, with achievement as with frustration. "Thrice is a man wonderful," says a Russian proverb, "at birth, marriage, and death." Man is religious, not because of frustration but because, as man, he is aware of a reality in his experience from which he cannot escape.

Self and Society. The Communist doctrine of man is responsible for a second opposition between Soviet and Christian thought. Soviet thought asserts that the value of the individual is his instrumental value to society. Conversely, the recognition of the absolute value of every personality as made in the image and likeness of God and the inadmissibility of treating the human personality as a mere instrument or tool lies at the very basis of Christianity. Admittedly, as shown earlier in the paper, on the material level by virtue of its organization, Soviet society acts in terms of the ultimate value of the individual to a much greater degree than does Western capitalist culture which, in theory, opposes a socially utilitarian view of persons. From the Christian standpoint both are in error and what are in opposition are not Western and Soviet culture, but Christian humanism and anthropocentric humanism.

For the Christian humanist the secular order is an independent but subordinated end. To be sure, man cannot achieve his fullness and end apart from society. This is Aristotelian. In the final analysis, however, society is subordinated to man as a *person*, i.e., man has an inner integrity and to give expression to this is the end of society. This is Christian. Christianity made clear what Aristotle had perceived very dimly — that God himself is the supreme good of human life. God alone, we say, is Lord of the conscience.

Soviet political theory denies this. Within Soviet theory Luther's "liberty of the Christian man" could have no significant meaning. The self is wholly subordinate to the collective whole; the state, representing that collectivity is supreme and demands unlimited devotion and complete obedience. Anti-Christian though it be, Russian totalitarianism must be seen against Russia's historic past. Berdyaev has shown, in his *Origin of Russian Communism*, how much of the totalitarian nature of Russian Communism is due to Russia's history prior to the Communist revolution. The Communist inherited an evil tradition, a tradition which included an absolute state and a feeble grasp of the rights of man. He has shown also the degree to which Communist totalitarianism was determined by the requirements of an active warfare: for revolutionary success the problem of power was fundamental and an integrated, totalitarian view of life essential. Following the Revolution the problem of security against counter-revolution dictated governmental policy. Orthodox Leninism carried through the Revolution and maintained it. Man, as having any inward principle, as free in the Christian sense, was liquidated in behalf of the new organization of society. A monism proclaiming everything as good which served the Revolution made mockery of Christian morality. The end justified the means, any sort of means. It made mockery, too, of truth. Philosophy and science were "orthodox" and therefore true.

Many of these earlier evils were removed as the new society developed strength. Learning, which had been sheer propaganda, was restored to objectivity and state opposition to organized religion became less intense. The Soviet state removed the disfranchisement of the clergy, made insults to the feelings of believers in religion punishable by law and enforced the law, and granted freedom of religious propaganda to the churches of Georgia and Armenia which had been relatively friendly to the Revolution.[13] In the political sphere, approaches were made toward democracy, culminating in the Constitution of 1936, only to be curtailed for the time by measures of repression obviously connected with the war. It is not impossible that the totalitarian line of Soviet development might at a future date repudiate itself. Whether there will be a further evolution in the direction of those concepts of political and religious freedom held in the West depends, like so many other things, upon the nature of the peace. But at present Soviet Russia is still totalitarian.

In this connection the "freeing" of the churches by Stalin probably does not imply too much. It is a hopeful sign and in line with a policy that has been in progress for some time. The worst interpretation of this action is that it is a political maneuver to offset the Vatican in its attempt to penetrate into Russia and a gesture to the Greek Orthodoxy of the Balkan states; the best interpretation, that it is an acknowledgment of the identification of the life of religion with the life of the people as evidenced by the whole-hearted support by the Church of the Soviet government in its war effort. There is a degree of truth in both interpretations. But to view the changed policy as meaning a free Church would be a mistake. Reinhold Niebuhr's statement, prophesying the action weeks before it took place, pointed this out:

> I do not believe that we ought to sing too many hymns of praise when Stalin frees the Church, as he probably will. We ought not to be too naïve about that because the freed Church may not be really free. It will probably move within the orbit of the Russian state. It will not have the final right to make the Christian Church in the real sense a Church: the right to mediate the judgment of God upon the sins of a nation.[14]

Whatever freedom the Church and the citizen enjoys in Russia is freedom by consent of the government and up to the point where the Church or citizen challenges the rightness of governmental policy. This is the common ground of all totalitarianism. Between it and the Christian concept of freedom I can see no possibility of agreement, even while recognizing that in practice the Soviet state is overwhelmingly concerned with the needs of the individual as an individual (in contrast to *person*). Spiritual freedom, freedom of the person comes from God; for man to seek to *grant* it is to seek to usurp the prerogatives of God.

Universal Community. Sympathetically evaluating Communism, MacMurray writes that there are two fundamentally positive motives of human action, hunger and love, and that "the real difference between Christianity and Communism in practice lies in the fact that Communism has a more limited conception of the nature of personality through confining itself entirely to the hunger-motives as its essential basis." [15] This economic monism of Communism places it in opposition to Christian thought. The Communist, correctly enough, stresses the hunger-motive as the fundamental source of human co-operation and the motive which determines the form and

changes of form in human relations. But it is essentially negative unless rooted in the love-impulse. In contrast Christianity is pluralistic and acknowledges that both hunger and love (as well as other factors) are necessary to the good life; Christian ethics directs attention to the plural aspects of the good. Jesus identified the Son of Man with needy humanity — the hungry, the thirsty, the unclothed; if men were to find God anywhere it would be where human need existed. But he could also say, "Man shall not live by bread alone." With profound insight Jesus united the two motives. The love-motives can only work if they include and dominate the hunger-motives; separated from the latter the love-motives are imaginary and ineffective. And the hunger-motives can of themselves yield neither the good life nor explain the nature of man or of history. An interpretation of life which separates the two is less than Christian.

Both Communism and Christianity are concerned with community; both hold that human society is developing toward the creation of a universal human community. Communism, however, sees this development as caused by the material conditions which determine the forms of human life. In this it possesses a partial truth; that is to say, the hunger-motives constitute an important element in community. The defect of Communism is its ignoring of that aspect of human life grounded in the love-impulses and its failure to realize that the establishment of a Communist society is dependent upon these, and upon the subordination of the economic hunger-impulses to them. This does not imply that other than economic motives may not be present or develop within a classless society; they may, but this would constitute proof that economic determinism of itself is an inadequate interpretation of life. Unless ethical and spiritual principles are present no Communist order can achieve the universal community it sets up as its end.

The inability of Communism, so long as it limits itself to the hunger-motives, to achieve the community it seeks can be analyzed in three ways. For one thing, external means cannot make men good. Lenin believed that a compulsory social organization could create any sort of new man desired, as for instance, a completely social man who would no longer need the use of force. (The temporary totalitarian dictatorship having fulfilled its task would "wither away.") But this is not so; coercion alone cannot achieve this end. St. Paul here is the better interpreter: "love is the fulfillment of the

law." Coercion of itself has only negative means at its command; it can forbid and set up a scale of retribution to enforce obedience; it has no power to make obedience voluntary.

In the second place, the universal community will not come through economic organization alone. Before the war, the fact of economic interdependence between peoples was thought by some to be a guarantee against war. It was not. Nor could membership within economic groups which cut across the political organization of the world bring universal community. This was shown, on the one hand, by the attempt within capitalism to reverse the process of economic expansion as illustrated in National Socialism and Italian Fascism, and on the other hand, by the way in which proletarian class consciousness succumbed to national consciousness in country after country. Indeed, herein is the partial truth of nationalism: a group of individuals in one country may be more directly dependent economically upon a group of individuals in another country than upon other members of their own political state, but for community there is required in addition a sense of personal relationship.

Finally, in concentrating on economic motives as determining the course of history, the Communist overlooks the fact that these motives cannot guarantee that the process of development toward universal community will continue. Social development is not inevitable; economic conditions may provide the stimulus, they do not determine the response. Indeed if hunger-motives alone determined social processes it is probable, as MacMurray suggests, that social change would stop short of universal community. For hunger-motives are based on fear, are essentially motives of self-defense. A society so motivated would tend to stabilize itself once the hunger-motives were satisfied. The danger involved becomes apparent once the capacity of such a society to supply its economic needs has been developed; it is apt to adopt a policy which would destroy the conditions necessary for the operation of the economic factors in a creative direction. Fear though it offers itself as such can never be a creative motive. The effort to use fear for the establishment of universal community must fail. Fear is essentially selfish and suspicious; universal community requires the transcendence of self. This is the profound insight of religion: "perfect love casteth out fear." Which is to say that the continued advance of society hoped for by the Communists is dependent upon spiritual as well as economic principles.

The areas of disagreement which I have discussed all concern theology. This is inevitable. It is because Soviet thought has deliberately excluded theology that it is only a partial truth, and as partial, potentially dangerous. Sooner or later, if Communism is to fulfill the hopes of its adherents, Soviet thought must consider the nature of man and of God. Only the full truth can make men free.

IV

Our Responsibilities. Without doubt the Soviet Union will be more influential than ever following the war. The great victories of the Russian army, coupled with the hatred of the Balkan people for the Germans, has enormously increased the prestige of the Soviet Union in that area; the recognition of the Orthodox Church by the government has removed what was a major handicap to the furthering of closer ties between the Soviet Union and these peoples. In Central Europe also, the Soviet influence will be great; Eduard Beneš has stated as his "deepest political conviction" the necessity for friendly and loyal collaboration between the three Slavonic nations — Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union.[16] Then, too, both by its achievements at home and its resistance to German aggression, the Soviet Union has made a tremendous impression upon the working classes of all nations. It seems certain, therefore, that if peace is to be maintained following the war, patterns of co-operation must be worked out between the other great powers and Soviet Russia. The members of the International Round Table at Princeton recognized this. "Any planning for world order," they declared, "calls for special consideration of the relationship to such world order of the ideals and practices of the U.S.S.R." This does not mean that we have to ignore differences in ways of thought and life; as this paper has indicated there are areas of agreement and disagreement between the culture of Soviet Russia and that of the Christian world. But, as Professor Ralph Barton Perry has stated in this connection, "It is of utmost importance to establish a priority among our agreements and disagreements."[17] The common need for a stable world order in which the fruits of peace may grow would seem to constitute such a priority.

What, then, of the responsibility of Christians for whom, according to the Princeton Round Table statement, "concern for world order is an imperative obligation"? The following statements indicate what seem to me, if the analysis in the first two sections of this paper is

valid, to be the particular responsibilities in the immediate future of those of us who accept the Christian interpretation of life.

If we are truly Christian we will allow God to speak to us through Russian achievements. We will see that the Russian attempt to establish a social-economic system which the workers can call their own, which puts first the raising of the standards of living of the people and which aims at social equality, has a claim on the sympathetic understanding and support of Christians. We will be grateful for the insight of Marxism into the extent to which the individual is moulded by his environment and consequently often prevented by social conditions from achieving his true self. We will acknowledge that there exists in Communism the true idea that man is called to serve not himself but his fellows and we will appreciate the moral passion for the regeneration of mankind which is so characteristic of the Russian people. We will know that in many instances Russia is more truly Christian than we and be humble enough to appreciate what part of the prophetic tradition Russian society incorporates. And we will do all in our power to get others to see and appreciate the basic Christian values in Russian society, even while asserting that by neglecting certain Christian fundamentals that society falls far short of the Christian ideal.

Again, we will understand Russian Communism as a challenge to the Christian world; we will see the Russian revolution as a judgment, a reminder of duty unfulfilled. We will admit with contrition that all too often we have been guilty of the charges brought against the adherents of religion by orthodox Marxism. As Christians we will not lay the whole blame for the anti-religious nature of Communism upon the communists; we will assign part of the blame to ourselves, and that a considerable part. Berdyaev is correct in declaring that "for Christians especially, revolution has a meaning and they, above all, must understand it. It is a challenge to Christians and a reminder that they have not made justice a fact of experience." [18] Acknowledging this and accepting the social responsibilities of Christian commitment we will set about bringing closer together profession and practice in our own culture, recognizing that what goes on in Russia will depend in no small measure upon the ability of Christians to demonstrate that they can achieve the same beneficent ends as are sought by Russian Communism and much more besides. Inasmuch as the entire dialectic of Russian thought links reason and activity it

will not suffice for us to make a formal defence of Christianity on grounds of abstract reason. Apologetics must be wedded to action; practice will prove more powerful than precept.

In the third place, we must see to it that the Christian religion is not used for a polemic against Russia as an atheistic and totalitarian country. Admitting that Russian Communism is atheistic and that the history of the Soviet Union has been characterized by much cruelty and the denial of freedom both political and religious, it still remains true that it has accomplished much, has done perhaps more for the worker than the professedly democratic countries. It would be wrong to emphasize its faults to the exclusion of the better qualities from which we might learn. In all probability, however, at the end of the war reactionary forces will seize on these points to hold back the forces of change. Particularly may this be true in American Protestantism which is pronouncedly middle-class economically. If the economic desires of many of our people create opposition to Russia and this opposition is then rationalized on religious grounds this will but substantiate for the Russians their initial analysis of the role of religion. It is essential that American Protestants be made conscious of the religious values in Russian society and become sufficiently astute to admit that the speculative rejection of God need not involve a practical refusal to order one's life in relation to God even though he remains unknown.

Another responsibility concerns the prevailing fear of Russia. Mutual fear and suspicion have already weakened the American-Russian alliance and may weaken it increasingly as the months pass. Knowing that fear and suspicions will prevent any true co-operation between Soviet Russia and her allies, once Germany is defeated, Christians interested in world order will make every possible effort now, when external conditions are propitious, to deepen our friendship with Soviet Russia. This task in America is primarily educational. Much of our fear of Russia is because we fail to recognize that Soviet foreign policy is not identical with orthodox revolutionary Marxism. Soviet foreign policy is essentially nationalistic. Prior to the war the Soviet Union's economic objectives were twofold, the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of her agriculture; its political objectives, the firm establishment of the revolutionary regime and the gradual introduction of democratic processes. For both its economic and political objectives peace was essen-

tial and Soviet foreign policy was directly correlated with this need for peace. That policy has not changed, nor is it likely to change. The Soviet Union cannot afford to have any other goal, confronted as it will be with the enormous task of rebuilding its industries, cities and agricultural life. It is essential that the unwarranted fear of Russia, more prevalent in American than in British life, be dispelled. To be sure, there is suspicion on Russia's side also, perhaps more justified considering the willingness with which the Baldwin and Chamberlain governments in England were ready to turn Germany against Russia. It would seem however, that to Christians — who find in religion an answer to fear — would fall the task of seeking to understand Russia's position and her desire for security.

There is need also for strengthening the bonds between the Russian Church and the churches of the West. Such sympathetic relations as those already developed between the Russian and Anglican churches should be extended. This is essential for two reasons. For one thing, Russian Orthodoxy has a distinctive contribution to make to Christian theology. Such men as Bulgakov and Berdyaev have greatly influenced and enriched our theology, both in our approach to the mysteries of the Christian faith (an aspect with which we of the West are all too unfamiliar) and in our understanding of its implications in the social order. In the second place, Russian churchmen will be aided greatly by all movements toward ecumenicity. In this connection it is necessary to remember that its historic identification, if not subordination, to the Russian state, as well as the historic isolation of Russia has made Russian Orthodoxy unduly susceptible to the danger of identifying itself solely with the Russian nation. "Holy Russia" is not something out of the past but a present reality to lay and ecclesiastical churchmen alike. One looks in vain for any sense of contrition in the pronouncements of Russian church leaders regarding the war; it is a Holy War. One looks in vain, too, for any indication of a sense of the Church Universal as embracing churchmen in enemy nations. Perhaps, amid our relative security, we have no right to ask for these, knowing what Russia has suffered. But these emphases would seem to belong to the Christian spirit. Closer ties with the churches of the West would help create within Russian Orthodoxy the wider outlook so essential if the Church of Christ is to fulfill its task. Finally, the position of the Russian Church in a culture avowedly atheistic and under a regime permitting freedom of anti-

religious but not religious propaganda, calls for the prayers and active aid in every feasible way of all Christians everywhere. Russia is far from having ceased to be Christian. Under handicaps we can scarcely imagine the Russian Christians have held and are maintaining the faith. These may be the leaven for the building of a truly Christian Soviet society, a society which will retain all the value of Russian Communism but will be free of its defects.

There is need in every age for further theological development and restatement to absorb into religion newly discovered facts. Soviet Russia is a new thing in history. A century ago Marx, commenting on Feurbach's *Essence of Christianity*, said: "Philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it." Faced with the achievements and lack of achievements in Soviet Russia, Christian theology still has the task of *interpreting* the world, in the faith and hope that Christianity may yet resume its historic role of *changing* it.

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GUILT

By GEORGE A. COE

THE announced policy of the Allies to inflict after-the-war punishment upon the most guilty individuals among our foes — a policy that the "man in the street" applauds — precipitates a set of acute problems with respect to the meaning of "guilt." What is the content of this notion? Justifiable imputation of guilt to an individual depends, it seems, upon a correct estimate of his motives; but what rules of evidence apply to these inner recesses of conduct? Degrees of guilt must be recognized, of course, but where is there a scale for computing them? Can there be mass guilt, and mass punishment therefor? As between the official leader of an atrocious enterprise, on the one hand, and on the other hand subordinates of his whose political or military duty requires them to give effect to this enterprise, what reasonable distinction should be made? Whence comes our right to punish? What is punishment supposed to effect? What specific benefits does it confer, and upon whom does it confer them? Current discussions of post-war administration, as how the court shall be constituted to determine guilt, and what phases of international law it shall enforce, do not touch these fundamental question of ethics. In the absence of answers to them, how could we escape the substitution of emotional craving for rational justice?

I

This war-created occasion for re-examining the notion of guilt has its setting in a group of non-war conditions, all of which point towards the same need. For instance, our endeavors towards a rational civilian penology have not reached maturity. Warden Lewis E. Lawes' views of crime and punishment (*Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing*, 1932) — views that represent mature experience — are a challenge to various commonly cherished assumptions as to the inner side of criminality, the inner side of prison discipline, and the inner truth with respect to capital punishment. In some jurisdictions the concept of guilt is so employed as actually to flout well-established truths with respect to juvenile delinquency. In many of our police departments, courts, jails, and prisons, sub-ethical emotions and im-

pulses are officially indulged as though they expressed ethical judgments. These kinds of official conduct persist among us because the people in general lack clear and justified convictions as to the nature and implications of guilt.

If we contemplate the subjective aspect of the matter — the sense of one's own guilt — we come upon the necessity of weighing the views of certain psychoanalysts who maintain that the emotion of guiltiness is a symptom of a more or less disordered personality. It is a sign, they say, that one is separated from the fellowships, the activities, and the social initiative wherein and whereby alone an individual comes to himself. We know that the major premise of this argument is true; personality is conjunct. Moreover, though the breadth of the psychoanalytic generalization creates doubt of its complete validity, no one denies that it describes many cases. Yet no one seems to have pointed out a dividing line between a morbid sense of guilt and a wholesome one.

There is reason for saying that reconsideration of this difficult concept is required, likewise, in the interest of religion. For religious thought and practice with respect to guilt and punishment exhibit marked instability. We cannot prove our own stability by contrasting ourselves with Anselm and Jonathan Edwards; for, within the last threescore years there has been repeated shifting of position. Men now living can recall open declarations, rarely contested at the time, that retribution, the offsetting of wrongdoing by proportionate suffering, is of the eternal nature of justice. For a long time American evangelism was commonly based upon the assumed validity of such a solemn and tragic tit for tat. All of us were supposed to deserve divine wrath and eternal torment unless our guilt should be borne for us by a substitute sufferer. Then followed an evangelism, some of it educational in its intent, that based itself upon the positive goodness of God and the inherent attractiveness of the religious life. The character that it ascribed to God as head of the moral order was that of a ready helper rather than that of an exactor of penalties. Evangelism of this kind tended to infuse into the sense of guilt something in the way of positive desires and purposes that counteracted depressive emotion. But at the present moment, if we may judge from the most vocal of our theologians, this wave is receding. Their minds are occupied with renewed thoughts of depravity and moral helplessness, and with renewed contemplation of wrath and "judg-

ment" as divine attributes. What the effect will be we have yet to see. Laymen display no new excitement over their own supposed guilt, and even the clerical leaders, when they publicly repent, seem to have upon their consciences error rather than guilt.

From this section of church history — the section in which we are immediate participants — there emerge only blurred and inconsistent meanings of "guilt." Back towards older types of thought when retribution was approved we have been drawn by a kind of undertow, but forward from them we have been pushed by recurring waves of moral initiative. The consequence is that a religious lack coincides both in time and content with a lack in the spheres of penology and international law. We need to reconsider what we mean by "guilt," how we are to prove the presence of it in given individuals, and how our conduct should be affected by such facts and notions.

II

A distinction needs to be made between guilt as an ascertained fact in particular cases, and the general interpretation of such facts in what can best be described as the content of a concept. When this distinction is clearly made, one indisputable, valuable, but precarious aspect of the truth comes to light. There is an embarrassing abundance of instances in which dynamic continuity can be perceived between a known evil and a known individual; he is a link in a chain of evil causation. Guilt in this sense is as objective and ascertainable as a disease-producing bacillus. Consequently, something can be done about it even though the content of the general notion should be as yet largely undetermined.

Becoming guilty in this factual sense never is an isolated event. No human being ever performs in a vacuum, but only in and through a set of relations with his fellows and with his own past. Indeed, there is no isolated fact of any sort. A complex or chain of cause-and-effect relations is present in every human choice. To realize that an evil choice has been made is to be confronted by a summons to struggle in order that the chain may be broken. This empirical aspect of the matter has received more attention even from our defective penology than it has received from religion. More and more, our penologists inquire into the evil-doer's health, his psychophysical make-up, his habits, his associations, his frustrations. No corresponding record of diagnostic procedure illuminates the history of American evangelism.

It is a story, rather, of the waxing or waning use of concepts uncontrolled by research into cause-and-effect relations. (The sense in which "cause and effect" are used in this article is unaffected by changes in the notion of natural law that men of science have wrought in the last three generations. All men of science and of sense continue to make forecasts and hindcasts by regulated observation of current events.)

When such research is neglected, what should be luminous in the concept of guilt becomes obscured, and conscience becomes confused. Judgment is passed upon acts and persons (one's own self included) fallaciously abstracted in thought from the causal series in which every act has its residence and meaning, and attention is diverted from understandable events to general, ill-defined, but emotion-awakening notions of good and ill desert. The paradox that prophetism commonly encounters antagonism from the very religion within which it arises finds its explanation here. Here, likewise, is the dwelling place of the self-deception of very religious and very conscientious men who lend their support to demonstrated social wrongs.

III

Endeavors to give precise meaning to the notion of guilt usually seek for the specific mark of it in the inmost recesses of personality. One's moral status is supposed to be determined by one's motives. That this point of view has the effect of counteracting many a cruel accusation against self or neighbor, and that a modicum of help springs directly from the truism that motives always are mixed, may gladly be granted. Nevertheless, when precision is looked for here, mastery of one of the most difficult parts of psychology is required. What is a "motive"? Is it a "drive" (a "push from behind"), or is it, rather, a forward-looking preference? Are motives there from the beginning of life, like "standard parts" of an automobile, or, do they arise through experience, and become habits by reason of repetition and accompanying satisfactions? Where shall we look for the main clue to the motives that have characterized men throughout history? Is the main clue the biological nature of man, the rational nature of man, or the nature of personality?

Even if these questions about the species were answered, there would remain extreme difficulty in ascertaining the motives of any

individual at any moment of his career. Mental complexity is enormous. Never has psychology catalogued even the sense stimuli that at a specified instant play upon a given individual from his environment and from his bodily organs. Never has psychology more than partly unravelled the influence of anyone's past upon his present self. Let it be remembered, finally, that in all conduct it is the integral individual that acts. All that is signified by heredity, constitution, temperament, disposition, habits, and character is involved.

The upshot of these considerations is that, though we can know the position of an individual within some of the good and evil chains of causal sequence, and though some of the many factors in one's motives often come to light, no one ever becomes sufficiently acquainted with the dynamics of anyone's inner life to derive, in a rational way, an objective, "going" content for the concept of guilt.

Nevertheless, these considerations shed some light upon the difference between a morbid sense of guilt and a wholesome one. In many situations one can know, without any occasion for doubt, that one is a link in a chain of evil causation, as when a gossiping tongue, as the Letter of James puts it, sets fire to a whole forest. Such self-knowledge arrays the self in one of its attitudes against itself in another of its attitudes, and emotion has a part in the process. If this emotion be strictly guided by knowledge of cause-and-effect relations, it is wholesome; it exerts pressure where pressure is needed — forward pressure towards the correction of definitely envisaged evils. But if emotion turns inward, identifying one's very self with a particular evil act, or with evil motives that are supposed to contain the entire ethical meaning of the act, one passes through a door of unverified and largely unverifiable self-analysis into a region where depressive emotions may easily prevent intelligent and vigorous conduct. Paradoxically, self-judgment based upon introspection of one's supposed motives may have the opposite effect of egregious self-approbation, whereupon self-conceit becomes a hindrance to intelligent conduct. Thus the mental procedure now in question, morbid self-depression and morbid self-elevation being equally its product, further discredits itself.

IV

When the sense of guilt takes this introspective form, even though it does not become paralyzingly intense, it affects one's outlook into the human world. The subjectivity of the viewpoint casts a haze over

persons and events; impressions that are merely conventional or even haphazard are taken as valid. The root of this difficulty is that desire to be "not guilty" or innocent lacks definable content of its own. The concept "innocence" has no positive meaning, but only a negative one; to long for such a state of being is to long for something remarkably like nirvana. Passivity towards conventional distinctions between right and wrong naturally follows; one is not critical of the standards of the group to which one cleaves; one is not engaged in finding out what is right and what wrong. Consequently a sense of guilt can attach itself to anything — "fish, flesh, or fowl" — that happens to be disapproved by a given church, sect, social class, or nation. Moreover, "sense of guilt" can actually become a phase of selfish self-regard — the emotional side of a mere running to cover. This has been made notorious by critics of certain sorts of evangelism.

There is an even more serious aspect of the matter. May there not be an inherently competitive relation between concern for status and concern for definite objective good? This question might be argued from the standpoint of the profound affirmation of the Gospel according to John that the Creator of the cosmos preferred to be a workingman rather than a ruler. The ideal of self-forgetting service is one of the most ancient and best-authenticated aspects of historic Christianity and of prophetic Judaism. The paradox that I can really live only when I cease to grasp after life, which seems to mean taking life wholly and unreservedly as *our* own, surely has a bearing upon indulgence in a sense of *my* guilt.

V

The introverted conscience usually endeavors to anchor itself in objective reality by identifying supposed obligations with the will of God. Such endeavors were encouraged by the kind of evangelism that urged men to "get right with God" without inquiry into what is right. What an eminent pastor described as "the great choice of God and the good" was assumed to be possible without stopping to ask what "the good" is. Recently this point of view has taken the form of proclaiming that the first step into the Christian life is absolute submission to the divine will.

The notion that God holds me guilty unless I make absolute submission to him without examining into his purposes for the world is suspect on more than one account. In the first place, what is utter,

or absolute submission? Nobody can say except by trading one synonym for another; no case of it is recognizable as a fact. In the second place, the implied conception of the divine government is indistinguishable from that of sheer coercion. Left naked and unqualified, it is surprisingly reminiscent of Fascist and Nazi conceptions of civilization. In the third place, this treatment of guilt contradicts the known truth of the interdependence of human personalities. The fact of this interdependence is crucial for all ethics, religious or other. For only by virtue of inter-individual action and reaction do I live a personal life at all. To quote the present Archbishop of Canterbury, "If you take all these social relationships away, there is nothing left. . . . By our mutual influence we actually constitute one another as what we are." (*Christianity and Social Order*, pp. 47 f.) Any wrestling of mine over good and evil, consequently, is indissolubly a part of a more inclusive wrestling. Only by an illusory abstraction can I claim any virtue as simply my own, or do the whole repenting for any wrong.

A view of guilt that ignores this aspect of personality is not only abstract; it moves towards the concept of pure subjectivity, which has neither center, circumference, nor direction of movement. It empties God's thought of himself of all reference to cause-and-effect relations, all reference to history, all reference to values other than the satisfaction of arbitrary impulses. When guilt, thus conceived, is an acknowledged relationship between a man and his God, it amounts to two reciprocal self-assertions; over against a man who magnifies himself as a mere individual abstracted from what in reality is inter-individual, it pits a self-centered divine imagination that makes of God also a mere individual who magnifies himself by abstraction of selfhood from its works. From this descent towards ethical nihilism we can rescue ourselves and our theistic faith in only one way, namely, by recognizing and applying to both God and man the truth in the statement just quoted from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

VI

Taking for granted that leaders in such atrocities as the mass murder of Jews deserve punishment, what should we understand by this "punishment," and whence comes our right to administer it? The beginning of wisdom in this undertaking of ours is to banish from our minds all thought of retribution. Retribution has its eyes upon what

was, not what is to be; it fallaciously abstracts the accused individual from the history of the inter-individual activities in which alone he has any personal being at all; it also abstracts the punisher from the future ongoing struggle between good and evil in which alone he can realize himself as a moral being.

The alternative to retribution is not softness; rather it is the kind of hardness that inheres in the inexorable attachment of effects to causes. The reason for post-war trials is that the offenders, even after arrest and incarceration, will have capacity to be causes. Rational punishment will consist in the control and redirection of this capacity. That the prisoners must be deprived of all opportunity to resume their satanic career, also all opportunity to incite others in this direction, is already correctly assumed. But a further duty is upon us. Their capacity for production, especially their capacity for helping to rebuild the waste places, should be utilized to the utmost possible extent by whatever kind and degree of coercion their attitudes may require. Such punishment, administered by watertight methods, would assign to guilt a place — the only reasonable place — in the moral order considered as a dynamic or cause-and-effect system. Administered without vindictiveness, it might even awaken some of the prisoners from their moral stupor. If the suggestion should be made that additional suffering should be inflicted as a warning to potential offenders, we might well remind ourselves of the opinion of penologists that the deterrent effect of punishment grows in only minor degree out of the severity of it; the certainty of detection and capture is the main deterrent. In any case, no one who has been corrupted by the Aryan myth will regard compulsory participation in the rehabilitation of Jewish populations as coming short of extreme severity.

Whence our right thus to punish? Clearly, this is not a case of innocence versus guilt. Innocence connotes no positive purpose, whereas punishment of this kind is chock full of morally aggressive purpose. The assumption of innocence, moreover, will not help us to achieve impartiality as judges; on the contrary, it will encourage retribution. Impartiality as judge depends upon wholehearted devotion to the utmost possible good of all the parties concerned — in this instance a world-wide good. Here we catch sight of a truly Christian view of the right to punish. The right to punish is an aspect of a duty to punish, and the duty to punish is a factor in good will socially organized and socially outlooking.

VII

When the imputation of guilt and the administration of punishment take this form, the punisher is obliged to consider what is required of himself as well as of the offender. The defects that persist in our handling of civil offenders are due, in large measure, to the failure of policemen, judges, prison wardens, and legislatures to judge and correct themselves even through the necessity of judging and punishing others. Correct diagnosis of criminality and of the effects of punishments as they now are defined and practiced would lead straight towards a demand for improvement in our own non-criminal conduct.

Inasmuch as the right to punish is an aspect of good will socially organized and socially outlooking, whenever specifically religious grounds are offered for the imputation of guilt — such grounds as disobedience of God — we condemn ourselves also unless our obedience is complete. If, when we pass sentence upon leaders in war atrocities, we do not repent of the race prejudice that infests the whole of American life, the life of the churches included, how can we regard ourselves as just judges?

The widespread conviction, spoken by numerous influential religious leaders, that the churches themselves are in dire need of repentance, is an arresting fact. Occurring at just this juncture of our world struggle, it may have more significance than at first appears. If it means that we are summoned back to God without specific reference to social undertakings, it is subject to the strictures that were stated in the fifth section of this article. But if — perhaps without realization on our part of what is happening — at last Christianity is becoming conscious of the imperative aspect of cause-and-effect relations in everything to which the categories of good and evil can be applied, the present unrest of the Christian conscience may well be one of the major upward turning points in the whole history of our religion, and of all religion. No argument is needed to convince anyone that at present we habitually make our supposedly ethical decisions without first ascertaining where good and evil reside, and how they operate. The overwhelming guilt, for which overwhelming repentance is required, attaches to our overwhelming neglect to know how and how far we ourselves are implicated in the causation of current personal and social evils.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

By F. ERNEST JOHNSON

A DISCUSSION of so comprehensive a subject in so brief a time must either be highly selective or quite futile. I am deliberately confining myself to what seem to me neglected aspects of the philosophy of religious liberty.

The issue is accented at present by a variety of factors, domestic and international. The inclusion of religion among the "four freedoms," the prominence of the religious issue in the Soviet Union, the acuteness of recent controversy over missionary work in Latin America, the continuance of a secular trend in the governments of younger states, the significant Supreme Court decisions with reference to radical religious sects, and the revival of the movement for the study of religion in American public schools — all these developments conspire to bring the issue of religious liberty to the fore. But if the context in which it now arises is complex, the issue itself has become quite as complex and involved. It is no longer a matter, I am convinced, of drawing up a list of imprescriptible "rights" which all religions should everywhere enjoy. The content of the term "religious liberty" depends on historical background, cultural setting, the degree of political stability, the degree of religious homogeneity, and the state of inter-faith relationships. What is urgently needed at this moment, therefore, is an inclusive concept, a general principle, which will give direction to policy and whose relevance to particular situations can be readily made clear. For it must be admitted that we now have no such governing principle of religious freedom.

This does not mean merely that there is no general agreement among religious bodies on such a principle, but that the several religious bodies are themselves unclear as to what religious liberty means. Even the Roman Catholic Church, whose doctrines are relatively clear-cut, has not formulated an unequivocal principle, susceptible of application to a non-Catholic nation and reconciling the authority of the Church with the primacy of reason. The Catholic position has the merit, however, of ethical reality in that it is consciously bipolar: it recognizes that human freedom is a synthesis of

individual spontaneity and corporate control, and hence cannot be defined in purely individual terms. To a large section of Protestantism, on the other hand, freedom of religion is little more than individual immunity — the right not to be confronted by spiritual authority in any form. The average Protestant believes in self-determination: his individual freedom has no corporate foil or counterpoise. Religious life in its typical Protestant form is atomistic and nominalistic; Catholic religious life is more organic, more realistic — in the Scholastic sense. Hence, while the Catholic conception of liberty stands within the framework of the church, Protestant conceptions subordinate the church to the individual. For, typically, the Protestant church is a "gathered" entity — a communion of the separately and previously redeemed. *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus* has lost its meaning.

I have dwelt on this at the outset, because it seems to me doubtful that much progress will be made in clarifying the idea of religious liberty until we gain a more adequate conception of the Church. If this is so, the contemporary formulation of the religious liberty issue vis-à-vis the state is faulty, for the ultimate reference is to the individual in his private capacity — standing alone before God. When Christian denominations and ecumenical bodies speak out for religious liberty they tend to do so in conscious championship of this individual believer. And the rights claimed by church bodies and missions are in a sense projections of these individual rights. It is a weakness of Protestant theology that the individual always stands too much "alone before God." The problem of religious liberty is, according to the view taken here, basically a problem of the church. Not until it is approached in that way will anything approximating a solution be found.

It is an old fallacy that the state, which represents society in its political character, deals with individual persons in isolated privacy. In actual life, and increasingly in our time, there *is* no isolated privacy. Life is lived in groups and the individual is not found in isolation. To be sure, this proposition cuts across the traditional theory of democracy and of government, in short, the entire laissez-faire conception of life and enterprise. We have been brought up on the notion that the economic protection of the individual consists in safeguarding his private right to work, to contract his labor, or to market for consumer's goods. In actuality, protection has to be given to

groups, to corporations, to labor unions, to consumers' co-operatives, and other instrumentalities in which the individual associates himself with others of his kind for like purposes. It is my contention that the current conception of religious liberty must undergo a similar transformation; that it must be stated in a framework of religious association, in other words, the church.

It is highly significant that religion has been included in the "four freedoms" because, as Mr. Sumner Welles has pointed out, the "four freedoms" formula in itself represents a new departure. Freedom from want and freedom from fear, which can be achieved only through elaborate, extensive and positive social action, are equated to freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly, which have a primarily negative reference. This means that the Bill of Rights approach to the problem of freedom, which is essentially negative, consisting in the removal of restraints, is supplemented by a positive approach which consists in the active organization of freedom. It is a melancholy truth that hitherto freedom of religion has been conceived in the same negative way as has freedom of speech or of assembly. As a national principle and as a popular slogan it has commonly meant immunity from any impact of religion upon the life of the individual. It is lustily appealed to by "free-thinkers" and aggressive secularists. This negative conception, however, as already noted, has been fostered by Protestant individualism. Freedom of religion has suffered the same poverty of content that characterizes the conception of political and social liberty in an individualistic age. It is therefore of profound significance that freedom of religion is being caught up in a new complex of ideas which are more than negative and forensic, which are active and organic in respect to implementation. What follows will be set down under three heads: religious liberty as a public issue; the ground of religious liberty; and the implementation of religious liberty.

I

Religious Liberty as a Public Issue. It is implicit in what has already been said that religious liberty when it becomes a public issue is, generally speaking, an aspect of political liberty. That is to say, it involves the state and is therefore political by definition. There is, in our system of government, no *sui generis* category of religious liberty which the state can be asked to respect.

This is not to deny that, viewed from within the religious community, religious liberty is much more than a political matter. It has to do, for example, with the extent of freedom given dissident groups within a denomination, with the latitude in terms of belief and action given to members of an interchurch body. And ultimately it has to do with the autonomy allowed to the individual member of a religious community. Let me repeat for emphasis that any adequate conception of religious liberty must be inclusive of all these aspects of the subject and that the public or political phase of the matter must never be divorced from what in the long run may be the more fundamental aspects. At this point I will anticipate enough to say that I consider the implementation of religious liberty throughout the world more a matter of inter-faith consensus, goodwill and co-operation than of political prescription by states or international bodies. More of this later.

However, the public and political aspect of religious freedom is to the fore, and it cannot be too strongly emphasized that whatever demands organized religion makes upon governments for guarantees of religious liberty must be considered within a broad framework of public policy. It is commonly recognized that most formulations of particular religious liberties are qualified by the phrase "consistent with public order and public morals," or words of similar import. This takes account of the fact that religious bodies have frequently carried on practices that violate the public conscience, running all the way from plural marriage to human sacrifice. Also, it goes without saying that religious demonstrations must be subject to the limitations imposed upon any others in the interest of traffic control and the preservation of the peace.

It must be said, however, that the present status of the definition of religious liberties in these respects is far from satisfactory, a fact which is abundantly documented in recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court. That Court has been unable to reach anything approaching unanimity on the religious liberty issue. In a dissenting opinion rendered by Mr. Justice Jackson in *Douglas* v. *Jeannette*, a Jehovah's Witnesses case, the Justice took occasion to put into the record some of the practices that the majority opinion was declaring to be within the scope of religious liberty. The members of the sect were conducting a "Watch Tower Campaign." Says Mr. Justice Jackson,

Each home was visited, a bell was rung or the door knocked upon, and the householder advised that the Witness had important information. If the householder would listen, a record was played on the phonograph. Its subject was "Snare and Racket." The following words are representative of its contents: "Religion is wrong and a snare because it deceives the people. . . . Religion is a racket because it has long been used and is still used to extract money from the people upon the theory and promise that the paying over of money to a priest will serve to relieve the party paying from punishment after death. . . ." This line of attack is taken by the Witnesses generally upon all denominations, especially the Roman Catholic.

In another dissenting opinion covering a group of cases, in which Mr. Justice Frankfurter joined, Mr. Justice Jackson noted that the Court had previously ruled that abusive language is not within the scope of religious liberty, and asked, "How then can the Court today hold it a 'high constitutional privilege' to go to homes, including those of devout Catholics on Palm Sunday morning, and thrust upon them literature calling their church a 'whore' and their faith a 'racket'?" In these decisions Justice Jackson believes the Court "needlessly creates a risk of discrediting a wise provision of our Constitution which protects all . . . in the peaceful, orderly practice of the religion of their choice but which gives no right to force it upon others." This is a reminder of the curious fact that in fidelity to a doctrine, liberty may be defined as a right to curtail liberty.

Although laymen must tread carefully among matters judicial, I venture to say that the present attitude of the Supreme Court, as indicated in these Jehovah's Witnesses cases, documents the generalization I have already made that in America religion tends to be conceived as a private, individual matter, a preserve which at all costs must be protected from interference. The net result is to focus attention exclusively on the private aspects of religion and to isolate it from those broad areas of human interest and activity where the relevance of social controls is perfectly patent. It is a fair question whether Mr. Justice Frankfurter in his dissenting opinion in the second Gobitis (flag-salute) case has not laid down a principle to which public policy may eventually have to revert:

The precise issue for us to decide is whether the legislatures of the various states and the authorities in a thousand counties and school districts of this country are barred from determining the appropriateness of various means to evoke that unifying sentiment without which there can ultimately be no liberties, civil or religious. . . . So to hold would in effect make us the school board for the country. That authority has not been given to this Court, nor should we assume it.

The point here is not the particular merit of the flag-saluting decision but rather the interpretation of freedom which is embodied in the opinion. The case is the more noteworthy because the majority, in reversing local policy, ran counter to what seems to be a distinct trend on the part of the present Supreme Court not to go back of the intention of legislative bodies. Sooner or later the attempt to restrain all interference with acts that are done in the name of religious liberty is bound to break down, as such action becomes more extensive and more diversified. To make everything done in the name of religion sacrosanct is to perpetuate the notion that religion is remote from the common life of men.

Quite aside from these matters, which we may perhaps assume will work themselves out in time, it must be noted that religious liberty the world over has a much closer relation to the entire cultural situation than is commonly recognized in a secular society or taken account of in the Protestant tradition. This is a matter of profound seriousness, particularly for the missionary movement. When all has been said that can be said, and it is much, concerning the arrogance of a religious denomination which is in a position of all-but-exclusive dominance, the fact remains that in a culture such as that of Latin America which is traditionally Catholic, or of, let us say, Egypt which is traditionally Muslim, the relation of religion to other aspects of the culture is vastly closer than the average person in a secular society like ours can understand. In America the diversity of the religious picture is such that the extensive influence of the Judaic-Christian tradition upon our culture is blurred by the fact that religion has a multitude of spokesmen: it never speaks univocally and never acts with unanimity. An impartial comparison between a nation that is relatively homogeneous religiously and one that is heterogeneous and in which religion is therefore more conspicuously "free" might show a spiritual deficit on the part of the latter country, whose religious freedom has been maintained largely as a concomitant of religious indifference.

The practical import of all this is that the extension of religious liberty must be undertaken in no isolated way — by singling out freedom of religion as a separate item of national policy. Specific guarantees cannot be secured without reference to the existing cultural situation and a variety of social and historical factors.

Let us consider the matter with reference to some of the specific

religious "freedoms" which leaders of Protestant thought have held to be important to the church in the carrying on of its work.

It is easy to assimilate freedom of worship, of conscience, of belief, and of testimony to the most generalized conceptions of liberty. Even here, however, it should be clear that much that would pass unquestioned in a country, for example, in which free enterprise and popular government obtain would inevitably be restrained in a country where public policy condemns all profit as exploitation and vests authority in a dictator or a bureaucracy. When we come to education — and religious leaders properly consider the right to educate as on a par with the right to worship — it is even clearer that attempts to build character in accord with the presuppositions of a competitive order would be regarded as inimical to the health of a socialist state. Freedom of action in accord with religious belief — another specific often mentioned — covers various forms of political, social and economic action, which in the nature of the case acquire their validity from the political and social system in which they are carried on. Freedom to hold property, commonly insisted upon as a right of the religious community, cannot be the same thing in a capitalist as in a socialist economy. Thus we see, all along the line, the interpenetration of religious liberties with those of a secular character.

This point presents peculiar difficulty in relation to the missionary enterprise. The patterns of missionary work arise in the country of the missions' origin. They may be quite contrary to public policy in the country where missionary work is carried on. I would even question whether proselytizing (in other words, affecting conversion from one faith to another) can be regarded as a general "right." In countries which are religiously homogeneous religion commonly plays a fundamental role in maintaining the integrity of the culture. If faithful adherence to a national religion is deemed to be an important element in national unity it is difficult to see how a government can be expected to regard with complacence efforts to deracinate its nationals. However this may be, the further contention, so frequently put forward, that no political or civil disabilities are to attach to persons on account of religious affiliation or non-affiliation is clearly questionable. It runs counter to common practice in community life in our own country. For it is probably safe to say that one's known religious convictions often play a very important part in establishing his eligibility for public office, particularly in the educa-

tional system of a community. I do not refer here to negative disabilities flowing from inter-faith prejudice but to the relation that religious profession and practice are presumed to bear to integrity and social competence in a given culture.

It is important to note also that within a given country the power of the state is never a fixed and determinate quantity. For the state is *sui generis* in that it is the ultimate prepository of power, and the exercise of power is always relevant to a historical situation. Its bounds are set by the total social setting. When national security is threatened, or believed to be threatened, either from without or from within, the power of the state expands proportionately. Hence the boundary between church and state is always a moving boundary. It is one of the tragic aspects of war that it curtails all cultural autonomy. And in a young country, or one politically unstable, the political power is in a similar way, though in a lesser degree, elastic and unpredictable.

II

The Ground of Religious Liberty. We come now to the question, What is the ultimate ground of religious liberty? The question takes us behind all issues of political policy or strategy. It would go without saying that governments tend to make their decisions on the basis of broad expediency. Where restraint is either too embarrassing or too difficult to make effective, a policy of hands off is indicated. But a philosophy of liberty needs a firmer ground than mere expediency. And the commonly enunciated "principle" that liberty requires the minimum of restraint upon the individual consistent with the freedom of other persons is no principle at all, but a rule of safety. It calls for an opportunistic adjustment of two variables — a balance of ethical powers, so to speak, between a man and his neighbors. (Here I should say that if my criticism is valid it is as applicable to liberty in a general sense as to religious liberty.)

A new philosophy of religious liberty would seem to be called for both from the political point of view, that is to say, from the standpoint of government, and from the point of view of the church. It is here suggested that the principles constituting the ground of religious freedom, within a framework of Christian thought, are two: (1) the spiritual obligation on the part of every person or group of persons to allow every other person a maximum of authentic religious experi-

ence; (2) the necessity of voluntary association for worship, study and action under corporate sanctions as a basis of genuine religious experience. I wish to discuss these two principles in some detail.

1. It will be noted that the first of these principles stands completely apart from the notion of individual rights. It is highly questionable if religious liberty can be based on the concept of rights. Professor Ferré has insisted that Christianity has no place for the concept. Rather, its imperatives are found in *agape* — in the constraint of divine love impregnating the community. Christianity, he writes,

> can never agree to build democracy on "the infinite worth of the individual" if this phrase is interpreted in the light of such historic concepts as Locke's natural rights of man or the "inalienable rights" of the American Declaration of Independence. According to Christianity man is of infinite worth only because God loves him; and because Christians as His children must, as far as possible, be completely concerned with the welfare of each individual. . . . Christianity knows nothing of the rights of individuals and groups over *against* the community as a whole, but only complete concern and responsibility on the part of every Christian and the Christian fellowship for all men in all their necessary relations. A Christian has no "rights". . . . The doctrine of individual rights, in its divisive sense, stems from several non-Christian sources, the most alien and opposed to Christian thinking being a humanistic-naturalism, explicit or implicit, which champions a nominalistic theory of existence where reality refers only to individuals in a natural world.

It is suggested here that the ultimate reason for respecting a person's liberty is stated best not in terms of a claim, not even in terms of an obligation to respect a claim, but in terms of an inner spiritual necessity. It is an expression of the authentic quality of one's own life. This has been admirably stated by Luigi Luzzatti, himself a Jew, who links faith and science in developing the meaning of liberty. He says:

> To believe and to know, faith and science; only liberty can co-ordinate these two supreme ideas, destined to diverge, to meet, to contradict each other, ideas which on account of this very divergance, this contradiction and this agreement, underlie the organic evolution of progress and civilization. (*God in Freedom*, p. 45.)

Luzzatti says further:

> History has already judged with infallible answers, and it has condemned those who lay their hands upon science in the name of God, or upon God in the name of science. And the doctrine of organic and constitutional liberty does not draw its reason only from the innermost recesses of conscience, but finds in history its most effectual sanctions and most evident consecration.

Strikingly enough, Luzzatti goes back to the ancient King Piyadasi for an illustration of an authentic conception of religious liberty.

In Piyadasi's teaching, he says:

> Religious freedom does not issue, under the form of tolerance, from a political compromise of conflicting beliefs, nor from the amiable skepticism of an indifferent government; it is not drawn from a vague and discolored theism which considers all religions as the developments of a higher typical idea and as simple deviations from it. The profound beauty and the peculiar novelty in King Piyadasi's edicts consist in the fact that religious freedom issues from the very fount of religion; it is an indispensable condition of divinity; it is the essence of faith; it is, as it were, faith in the goodness of faith. The more does the celestial flame burn in the hearts of believers, the more they must feel an obligation to allow it to burn freely in other hearts.

Hobhouse finds in history, from the Reformation on, a gradual process by which freedom of conscience graduated into religious equality.

> This change is sometimes represented as merely a consequence of religious scepticism, the implication being that if the world held itself as certain of fundamental truths as it did in the twelfth century it would not hesitate to impose them on all its members by force as it did then on the rare occasions which arose. But there is a deeper principle involved, illustrating the many-sided meaning of the idea of Personality. Far from implying an indifference to religion, the principle of religious equality is a recognition of the profound importance of intellectual sincerity, particularly in relation to the deepest problems of life. From the moment that honesty is recognized as a duty it becomes increasingly repugnant to penalize the beliefs to which it may lead. (*Morals in Evolution*, p. 358.)

What emerges here is the centrality of the principle of freedom in all authentic religious experience. Practically, of course, religious liberty is a juridical matter, but ultimately it is not a child of law, but a child of love.

2. The second ground of religious liberty is a corollary of the principle that all personality is social and matures in fellowship. It is probably true that most of the burdensome restrictions that have been placed by secular governments on corporate religious freedom are due to the tendency, referred to in this paper again and again, to regard freedom as a private possession, privately arrived at. It is never so in fact. Just as I am bound to permit to others what I find necessary for myself in terms of belief and testimony — on pain of losing it myself — so I am bound to respect the integrity of those corporate structures through which the personal experience becomes rich and vital. This brings us back to the earlier statement about the necessity of a more adequate conception of the church as basic to an understanding of religious liberty. Here again I feel strongly that the doctrine of vested "rights" is inadequate and misleading. The reli-

gious community is its own justification, and the liberty of the church to maintain its corporate existence flows from the very nature of the spirit that informs it. *Agape* does not demand freedom; it *is* freedom. "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there *is* liberty."

The most difficult aspect of this problem of the free spiritual community is, of course, the reconciliation of the certainty that goes with an experience of revelation with a reverence for the experience of others who believe they have encountered something quite as authentic. My suggestion here is that the church has custodianship of a revelation that is self-authenticating in the experience of its members, but which has no exclusive authority for mankind as a whole. The recipients of a revelation may believe in its finality and ultimate universality, but it can acquire finality only by becoming final in fact — by fully authenticating itself. Let me cite here some highly significant passages from H. R. Niebuhr's *The Meaning of Revelation* (pp. 60–62). He is making the point that history as *lived* and history as *observed* are different. It is only in the former that revelation is to be found. He says:

> The distinction between our history and events in impersonal time, or between history as lived and as contemplated from the outside may be illustrated by contrasting parallel descriptions of the same social event. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address begins with history: "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal." The same event is described in the *Cambridge Modern History* in the following fashion: "On July 4, 1776, Congress passed the resolution which made the colonies independent communities, issuing at the same time the well-known Declaration of Independence. If we regard the Declaration as the assertion of an abstract political theory, criticism and condemnation are easy. It sets out with a general proposition so vague as to be practically useless. The doctrine of the equality of men, unless it be qualified and conditioned by reference to special circumstance, is either a barren truism or a delusion."
>
> The striking dissimilarity between these two accounts may be explained as being due merely to a difference of sentiment; the blind devotion of the patriot is opposed to the critical acumen and dispassionate judgment of the scientific historian. But the disparity goes deeper. The difference in sentiment is so profound because the beings about which the accounts speak differ greatly; the "Congress" is one thing, "our fathers" are almost another reality. The proposition that all men are created free and equal, to which the fathers dedicated their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, and which for their children is to be the object of a new devotion, seems to belong to a different order of ideas than that to which the vague and useless, barren truism or delusion belongs. Though these various terms point to the same ultimate realities the latter are seen in different aspects and apprehended in different con-

texts. Moreover it seems evident that the terms the external historian employs are not more truly descriptive of the things-in-themselves than those the statesman uses and that the former's understanding of what really happened is not more accurate than the latter's. In the one case the events of history are seen from the outside, in the other from the inside.

This two-aspect character of history enables us to see, Mr. Niebuhr thinks,

why we can speak of revelation only in connection with our own history without affirming or denying its reality in the history of other communities into whose inner life we cannot penetrate without abandoning ourselves and our community. The two-aspect theory allows us to understand how revelation can be in history and yet not be identifiable with miraculous events as visible to an external observer and how events that are revelatory in our history, sources of unconquerable certainty for us, can yet be analyzed in profane fashion by the observer.

All this, Mr. Niebuhr recognizes, leaves us with a paradox, but it is an ineluctable paradox from which Christianity cannot escape. I think that, in large measure, it states our problem in searching for a basis for religious liberty that is consistent with the absolute claims of revelation. Without wishing to suggest that my own conclusion as here tentatively set down would be endorsed by Mr. Niebuhr or anyone else, it seems to me clear that the concept of revelation as essentially *confessional* limits the sway of its absolute to the community which voluntarily (or by an inner compulsion) accepts it. The gates of this community remain always open, but while its messengers go out into the highways and hedges of the world seeking to share with others their revelation, they may not "compel them to come in" even with the mild mental compulsion of an exclusive claim to ultimate truth.

I am not trying to commit Mr. Niebuhr to any argument of my own, but I offer his interpretation as a basis for conviction without dogmatic exclusiveness, for a freedom of religious action that rises far above the level of tolerance.

III

The Implementation of Religious Liberty. Here I may attempt to bring together the public and political phase with the confessional phase of the subject we are discussing. The inclusion of religion in the "four freedoms" creates a strong presumption for embodying religious freedom in any charter of liberties that may be drawn up as a part

of the structure of the peace. But from what has been said already it will be clear that I see no possibility or desirability of agreement on a long "bill" of religious rights. The shape of freedom is Protean, not constant; and it is a mood, a will, an aspiration we need to insure, not a categorical convention. Indeed, it is not improbable that in the evolution of man's consciousness he grasps vague wholes, universals, before he gains much knowledge of particulars.

The recommendation, therefore, in the last of the "Six Pillars of Peace" seems timely and wise. "The peace must establish in principle, and seek to achieve in practice, the right of individuals everywhere to religious and intellectual liberty." The mere fact that mention is made of religious liberty and account is taken of it as a factor in the peace should serve to keep the issue in the public mind. Not only so, but the effort to implement the principle all along the line will be educationally constructive. It is in this experimental fashion that the most basic human problems are worked out.

Two dangers are to be avoided, first, expecting too much, and secondly, not expecting enough. The best way, it would seem, to guard against the former is to remember that every freedom has to be conceived in a context of historical actuality and not as the imposition of an abstract ideal. On the other hand, this realistic approach may often render a situation more hopeful because it takes account of factors which work for the greater realization of liberty. In the Soviet Union, for example, probably the development of public policy in this regard will be affected much more by the general reversal of the cultural trend in that country, which is restoring religion to its historic role, than by any amount of diplomatic forensics. It may be possible, too, to get much further than is commonly assumed in ironing out differences between Protestants and Catholics when the respective philosophies are mutually understood and actual situations fairly appraised.

An informal group of American Protestants and Roman Catholics has made the following suggestion toward an international charter of civil rights and liberties:

> Freedom to profess any religious belief, and to worship, preach, teach and engage in activities in accordance therewith, shall be assured to all persons and groups, so long as public order is not disturbed. No religious practice or teaching shall be imposed by public authority upon any persons or groups, contrary to their beliefs. (Furthermore, it is urged that assurance of fair treatment for minorities should take into account religious, as well as racial and national differences.)

In any case a sound approach to the implementation of any principle involves a meeting of minds and adjustment of interests on the part of those who are most concerned. The function of the state, or of any political authority, in all such matters is more accurately conceived as presidential or supervisory rather than as authoritative in the first instance. It is true, as Dorothy Fosdick says in a penetrating analysis, that we cannot free ourselves from the concept of liberty as absence of restraint. No spiritualizing of the idea frees us from the necessity of being realistic with reference to liberty as politically conceived. As the church confronts the state — even a world state — seeking specific freedoms and immunities it must operate within the pattern determined by a political concept of liberty. This doubtless means that numerous *ad hoc* arrangements will have to be made depending upon national or regional political systems and culture patterns. But it is here contended that such arrangements are only interim in nature and that the effectual pursuit of religious liberty in the Christian sense can come only through the larger realization of community, again in the Christian sense. From the political point of view liberty may mean autonomy gained through absence of restraint but from the spiritual point of view it means autonomy achieved in spite of existing restraints. If we would recover the essence of religious liberty as it gleams forth in some of the passages quoted above we must create the conditions for the setting free of the human spirit in the religious mode of its life. May it not be true that the ultimate triumph of high religion in the hearts of men requires sanctions and guarantees that no state can offer, that can only emerge through the progressive discipline of the human spirit? The confessional task would then become the carrying forward of this spiritual process in the light of the particular confession's authentic revelation. If religious liberty is something implicit in the experience of men who are in close spiritual association it should make its way ultimately under sanctions that are essentially religious rather than political. For practical purposes we cannot ignore the relation of the church to the political international, whatever form it takes, that will issue from this war, but perhaps the greatest hope of religious liberty is in a religious international which will evolve sanctions of its own.

CONVICTIONS AND THE JUDGMENT OF THE CHURCH

By ABDEL ROSS WENTZ

THE pursuit of ecumenical ideals is bound sooner or later to raise the issue concerning conscientious convictions of individuals in their relation to the corporate judgment of the Church. The issue presents itself in many different forms, and perhaps a discussion of some of its aspects may lead in the direction of clarified procedure.

The issue needs to be more closely defined. It is not a matter of determining what is the corporate judgment of the Church. One assumes that there is such a thing and that in some way it can be set down in fairly clear terms, either by a study of Christian history, or by counting votes today, or by a pronouncement of some genuine ecumenical Christian council yet to be assembled. We must proceed here on the assumption that Christians in general, as well as separate Churches in particular, do have a definite corporate judgment.

Nor is there any question involved here concerning the right of private judgment. That old Reformation principle is assumed to be in full force. It is the main pillar of support for a free conscience in the individual. There may be differences of opinion among us as to the implications of the principle, and for a great part of the human race in the present world situation it may be practically impossible to exercise the right of private judgment. But for the purposes of our discussion it must be taken for granted that the individual conscience, however it may be constituted, has certain inviolable rights under God, and before the world, and within the fellowship of Christians in general.

Again, we are not asking just now what the Church should do when the expressed judgment of an individual is in conflict with the corporate judgment of the Church. This would be an interesting and doubtless a profitable topic, for the history of the Christian Churches records a great variety of attitude towards those who deviate from the traditions and are "otherwise minded." Investigation would probably reveal that no other organization claiming the allegiance of many minds has on the whole dealt so tenderly with the human conscience

as the Christian Church has. But it must be admitted that the story of intolerance is not yet fully told. And alongside our gigantic struggle for modern freedoms there is a disheartening increase in the regimentation of human spirits and a tremendous heaping up of political machinery for the fabrication of the mass man. Certainly these phenomena demand the attention of the ecumenical Christian Church. But our topic now is not the relation of creeds to the individual conscience. Our frame of reference is not the dogma of the Church as it affects the individual thinker. Our immediate question is pointed in the other direction. Not what the Church must do, but what the individual must do when his conscientious convictions clash with ecumenical ideals. What is the relative weight of these two entities, the corporate judgment of the whole Christian fellowship and the enlightened conscientious conviction of the Christian believer, — what is their relative weight in determining the views and conduct of the individual Christian?

We may begin by recognizing that there are real differences of honest conviction among genuine Christians. These differences are deep-seated and far-reaching in their consequences. They are not mere variations in judgment or opinion, nor superficial differences of taste or predilection. They cannot be lightly ascribed to prejudice or obstinacy or whim. They cannot be explained out of "background" and so be superciliously dismissed. Genuine convictions cannot be ignored or laughed off or banished as reprehensible. Nor can they be smothered by statistics or killed by segregation. They cannot be blandly consigned to the levelling effect of the historic process. Genuine honest convictions must be recognized as serious realities, and they must somehow be accorded ample room within the corporate judgment of the Church or alongside of it. For there seems to be no possibility of ever resolving all differences of honest conviction.

The sources of these varying convictions may not be easy to analyze. They may not lie in the realm of program or polity. They may not deal with matters of worship or behavior. They may not involve any theories of function or operation. They may not even pertain to piety. We are dealing with religious convictions, and they lie in the realm of emotion. A conviction is a feeling of assurance. That is to say, the primal sources of convictions lie in the unfathomable depths of human personality and the unattainable heights of divine revelation.

Religious convictions are sacred matters, as sacred as the human soul and as holy as God's will. They must never be violated by the corporate judgment of the Church. Genuine Christian convictions do not yield to numbers, no matter how overwhelming, and attempted coercion on the part of a majority usually serves only to deepen the convictions in the hearts of the minority.

When therefore a Christian soul hearkens to what he regards as the voice of God and arrives at a conviction that deep in his heart he knows to be in conflict with the corporate judgment of the Church, what should be the attitude of the individual? Several things are required of him in fairness to himself and in fairness to the Christian society of which he is a part.

I

First, he must be sincere. He must hold to his convictions whatever the cost in terms of comfort or human relationships. "It is neither safe nor right to act against conscience." So spake Martin Luther when in jeopardy of his life he confronted an absolute Church and an absolute state, the mightiest ecclesiastico-political power the world has ever known. He dared to pit the principle of individual conscience against the claim of corporate infallibility. It was not a new principle, but Luther and his fellow Reformers were able to fight it through to general recognition. They introduced upon the stage of history a force that has proved more potent than all the combined powers of corporate Churches and constituted states. They bequeathed to the modern Christian one of his most cherished possessions, the principle that his conscience is a sacred and inviolable domain. Every Christian soul must claim his royal priesthood and hold to his conscientious convictions with absolute sincerity. Rather than surrender that domain he should take his place in the long line of confessors and martyrs who through the centuries have dared and died for conscience sake.

Nothing in the ecumenical movement among modern Christian Churches dare be taken to imply the intention to infringe upon the primary right of the individual Christian conscience. And no Christian anywhere in the world should allow his conscience to be inhibited by any implication, imagined or real, of the modern ecumenical movement. This movement, on the contrary, should reinforce his clarified and courageous sincerity, his forthright loyalty.

II

Another quality that the individual should maintain within himself, when his convictions do not coincide with the consensus of Christian opinion, is a mind that is receptive to truth. It must be observed that Christian convictions are not purely subjective, else they would not be Christian. Christianity is a historical religion. Christian conviction, therefore, while it is primarily individual and rests upon private judgment, must be more than a mere matter of private opinion and individual interpretation. There is an objective element in all Christian conviction, because Christianity is a matter of divine revelation. The convinced Christian heart rejoices in the good news that has come from without, the Gospel that came from above. This prophetic and apostolic Gospel entered human history at a certain definite point, and its records are before us. It is variously received and variously interpreted from time to time, from person to person, and from group to group. But the fact that there is such a large objective element in the Christian religion makes possible a common body of interpretation, a corporate judgment of the Christian community. It nourishes the fond hope that ultimately all Christian convictions will be integrated with that corporate judgment and every individual conscience will be satisfied. Conscious efforts at ecumenical ideals therefore will operate largely in this field of the objective.

The conscience to which Luther appealed against his accusers was not a vague formless mass of subjectivity. It was a conscience informed with Scriptural truth and still open to conviction from that source. "My conscience," he exclaimed, "my conscience is thatched to the word of God; unless convinced by clear arguments of reason based upon the Scriptures, I will not and cannot recant." The implication is that the stalwart champion of the right of private judgment held his convictions subject to revision if new light came from the Scriptures. And even in the bitter controversies with his theological opponents he declared himself willing to be convinced on the basis of God's Word. The Christian of our day will do well to study carefully the systems of truth that claim to be Christian but differ from his own. The Spirit of God may be seeking through mind-contact with others to lead him into fuller Scriptural truth. The leadings of the Spirit may be conveyed through the community of saints.

III

The conscience of the individual Christian, facing the objective element in his faith, the record of prophets and apostles and the work of the Holy Spirit through the Christian ages, will recognize the social quality of his faith and even the world-wide issues that depend from it. The Christian will listen first of all to his conscience informed by divine truth. He will regard that as the inner voice of God. At the same time he will learn from the written Word that there is an outer voice of God and that it may be found, in part at least, in the deliberate judgment of the community of saints. This outer voice comes to the individual not in isolation but in the community where he stands. But it can be authenticated to the individual conscience not by the insistence of the community, not by the weight of numbers, nor by any other external authority, but solely by the witness of the Holy Spirit with the human spirit concerning the true teaching of the Scriptures. An ecumenical creed, whether out of the past or in the future, can claim the *attention* of the individual because it is ecumenical; it can claim his *adherence* only because it is Scriptural.

IV

It belongs to a good Christian conscience, therefore, when it diverges from the accepted doctrines, to give attention to the collective thought of the church. As he is in duty bound to bear witness to the truth as he sees it and to carry his testimony to those who are otherwise minded, so he is in duty bound to subject his own convictions to contact with other minds. He owes it to himself as well as the community to carry his convictions into the process of collective thinking, to participate in co-operative study.

It involves no compromise with error to engage in theological study and discussion with those whose views we cannot share. To keep an open mind for truth from whatever source it may come is no indication of flabby faith or weak will. To be willing to study co-operatively involves no diluting of conviction. In fact, the deeper his conviction, the more ready one should be to lay it alongside of other convictions. The more firm his assurance and the more clarified his faith, the safer one should feel in subjecting it to a continuous process of investigation and possible correction. When the individual is assured that his diverging view can be expressed freely and without fear of embar-

rassment, it is his duty to the truth as he knows it to bring his convictions to the fellowship of friendly and courteous discussion. This is the spirit of the World Council of Churches in providing a forum of theological discussion and in stimulating the process of world-wide theological study. For the full stature of manhood in Christ, the unity of the faith and the knowledge of God's Son, as the writer of Ephesians calls it, is attained not by intellectual quarantine and dogmatic assertion, nor yet by unstable convictions and tentative doctrines and constantly shifting views, but by "truthing it in love and growing up in all things into Christ who is the head" (Ephesians 4:15).

V

Then, too, the individual Christian should include among the elements that may inform his conscience that entity which we have called the corporate judgment of the Church. This does not at all imply an infallible Church or an authoritative creed. It does imply that the Holy Spirit has guided the Church and still guides it and that when the conviction of a Christian differs from the position of the Church universal, there is at least a possibility that the Spirit is speaking through the Church and that his voice in that form has a right to be heard. The Church may be wrong and the diverging individual may be right, but the individual who differs with the community must realize that the burden of proof rests upon him. When the Christian Scriptures are interpreted in so many different ways that outsiders are sometimes perplexed about the essence of Christianity, there is much reason in the answer, "Christianity is what the great majority of those who call themselves Christian believe it to be."

There is a certain degree of authority in the sum of Christian religious experience and it dare not be lightly discarded or overlooked by the individual who professes to be Christian. In the formation of every Christian conviction in the heart of the individual there should be prayerful regard for the attainment of the Church in the corporate interpretation of the Christian records and in their adaptation to general and particular human needs through the ages. Every Christian knows that the great bulk of what he accepts comes to him not by his independent striving but through the accumulated experience of the saints in their fellowship with Christ. The fellowship of believers is a very appropriate laboratory in which to "try the spirits whether they are of God." The Holy Spirit speaks also to the mind of man in

our day, and the corporate judgment of the Church which we offer for the informing of the individual conscience includes also the ecumenical ideals and thought-processes of our generation.

VI

There is one more quality that belongs to the Christian whose conviction varies from the corporate judgment of the church. He must be loyal. If he is a teacher or preacher or leader of others, simple honesty requires that he devote his powers to the well being of the society that he serves. It is always the right of a constituted teacher or leader, and it may even be his duty, to seek a change in the positions and practices of his society in order to bring them into accord with his own convictions. He is not obliged to regard inherited ideas or encrusted views as sacrosanct. If our knowledge is not to become stereotyped and obsolete, it is the duty of the best minds in each generation to review critically the traditions of the past and if necessary to develop new convictions. There is always the possibility that divergent convictions may develop into new standards that are generally accepted, and this may change the entire group or lead to the formation of a new group. Only in this way can the progressive element in Christianity come to expression alongside of the static element and the Church be delivered from outworn forms of thought and rules of life.

But when an appointed teacher arrives at convictions that are in fundamental discord with the positions of the appointing society and when there is no prospect of bringing the standards of the society to accord with his own convictions, he owes it both to his conscience and to the appointing society to relinquish his position of trust and leadership. It may not be easy to determine just when the divergences are in the sphere of fundamentals and when they are mere incidentals. In fact it is often exceedingly difficult to draw the line between a radical contradiction and a mere difference of opinion. This distinction can usually be made clear by a continuing process of group study. But when it is clear that the difference is fundamental, and when it seems that the variation is permanent, the conscientious Christian will give up his position of leadership and change his allegiance rather than undermine the foundations of the society or group whose servant he is. He will accept the consequences and deport himself in love and forbearance towards his fellow Christians as he hopes to account to God.

THE CHURCH AS BODY OF CHRIST

By W. NORMAN PITTENGER

"NO Christian who is not also a member of the Church." In this brief phrase, the witness of the New Testament — and, in fact, the testimony of early Christianity as a whole — may be summed up. With most varying phrasing, and likewise with widely differing emphases, the New Testament makes it clear that the way in which one became a Christian believer, in primitive times — and hence a participant in the Christian life — was by becoming a member of the Christian society. But it was not merely a fact that membership in the society was essential to Christian profession; there were also — as essential elements in the Christian faith involved in Christian "church-appurtenance," to use von Hügel's phrase — certain fairly well defined ideas, certain firmly held convictions, about the nature of that particular society of which the Christian, by the very fact of his being a Christian, was a member.

I

The Christian society, in the first place, was seen as being a *divine creation.* It was by God's act, and not simply as a matter of convenience for men, that the Christian community had come into being. Classical for the expression of this conviction is the Epistle to the Ephesians; but St. Paul, whose own ideas on the Church are summed up and further developed in Ephesians (although doubtless he himself did not write the epistle), says practically the same thing in Colossians, and writes even earlier, in this same vein, in I Corinthians. As God had called the Hebrew people to him as his own, his chosen people, and had constituted them by divine act to be his special instrument for the realization of a divine purpose, so likewise by the sending of the Messiah and through the events of the Messiah's life, death, resurrection, ascension and the sending of the Holy Spirit, God had reconstituted his chosen people as "the new Israel." This new Israel is the divine community which is God's instrument for bringing salvation to the entire world, by preparing for the coming of God's kingdom or reign, and by exhibiting already in this present age "the powers of the age to come."

Such a conception, or some variant of it, seems also to have been in the mind of the Lord Jesus himself. As Dr. B. S. Easton has argued at length, Jesus meant what he said when he spoke of his casting-out of demons by "the finger of God" and rejoiced that those who were of his company had themselves manifested that same power in action which was originally his, and so would be able to carry on his work for him in places where he himself, or at times when he himself, would be unable to go.

The Church, moreover, was not only conceived to be the divinely established society which carried on the work of the older Israel. It, and it alone, was believed to be *the true Israel*. The older dispensation, "Israel after the flesh," by its rejection of the Messiah whom the God of Israel had sent — attesting his place as Messiah by "many infallible signs" — had shown clearly that it could no longer serve the purpose for which God had originally brought it into being. Hence the new society, which was established by the Messiah's coming, death and resurrection, built around belief in the Messiah, commissioned to carry on the work which it was believed he had inaugurated during his period on earth, was to be the *true* Israel in which alone God's perfect work would be done, and by which alone the world would be made ready for the kingdom — the kingdom which was soon to appear from the heavens, when the Messiah returned in glory to vindicate his Church's work and "restore" the heavens and the earth.

As the new and the true Israel, established by divine act in the sending of the Messiah, the Christian Church was described (in the third place) as the *new creation*, the first fruits of the whole new order which would soon be brought in by the returning Messiah. It was precisely because the Church was seen as the new creation, whose specific task was to carry on the Messiah's work, that the Church was described in metaphor as "the Body of Christ." St. Paul pushed this metaphor as far as possible. For him the Church, like a human body, had many members, intimately one with each other by reason of their common bodily relationship, intimately at one, and more importantly, with the Messiah who was "head" of the Body which was the Church — and "head," evidently, in the sense of controlling power, informing presence, inspiring mind. Christ was alive in his Church, a reality to be known and apprehended through the community and its life. But the life of the Christian community was life of a special kind or quality; it was life "in Holy Spirit." This meant that the life of the

Body of Christ, or life *in* the Body of Christ, was informed by the new energies and gifts which were sent by, or through, or were peculiar to the Messiah, and conveyed through the Spirit released in the Body. The nature of the Spirit appears not to have been too precisely defined, nor even too precisely identified, but in some genuine sense the Spirit was both the Spirit of God and the Spirit of the Messiah — and not unlike the Spirit mentioned in the narratives and prophecies treasured by the ancient Israel as sent by God upon certain men or certain groups of men when they were to be used for his purposes, or in some of the ancient prophetic writings promised as coming in supreme fullness when and if Israel truly turned to God and earnestly and obediently sought to do his will.

With important differences in phraseology, and with an almost complete absence of the crucial note of the immediate return of the Messiah, the Johannine literature presents a view of the nature of the Christian society which is parallel with that of St. Paul. Here the fellowship in love, witnessed by the sharing in Holy Spirit, is a new life in community, through which the risen Lord is known and his presence made available to his followers, and through them to the world outside the Christian fellowship. The believers are to do what he did "and greater things," because they are incorporated into that fellowship whose innermost life is "walking in the light" brought by the incarnate Word of God of whose "grace they have all received" in superabundant measure. Once again, the Church is a divinely established, divinely commissioned and divinely empowered fellowship, one with its Lord and manifesting his life to the world.

Elsewhere in the New Testament, such a conception — or one in no fundamental respect dissimilar — is maintained either explicitly or by implication. The gospels themselves are books of the Church, and bear their witness to the same notion of the Church, when once they are seen as the record of that community's contemporary belief about its own nature and the expression of this belief in life, expressed in terms of their origin in the Lord who as head of the Church is still present with them "always, even unto the end of the world." And whatever degree of precise historicity we may assign to the narratives in Acts, the same sense of the Church as the divinely established, new Israel, the new creation into which converts are to be brought in order that they may become Christians, is implicit in and pervasive of the entire book.

II

With so much by way of summary of the New Testament evidence, we are prepared to consider "the residual significance" of this picture for our own modern understanding of the nature of the Church.

It is essential to begin with the simple and obvious, but often slighted, fact that Christianity is an historical religion. It is built on events, historical happenings, or on what are supposed to be events and happenings. As Dr. William Temple has put it:

> Christianity can never be dissolved into a series of beautiful ideas; it is rooted in an historical person, who lived at a definite point of space and time and was "crucified under Pontius Pilate." . . . It was and it always has been a narrative of events which actually occurred in history and revealed, so Christians claimed, the mind and purpose of the eternal will, and were thus determinative of all history.

Again, the revelation in which Christianity centres is, says Dr. Temple, "a life actually lived, culminating in an actual death and actual resurrection, upon the plane of history." Christianity, therefore, cannot be said to be a doctrine, a system of theology, a code of ethics, a mode of worship, or even a way of life, although doubtless it involves and implies all these things. In the first instance, it is an historical fact, believed by Christians to have been wrought by God in human terms, with certain highly significant consequences which inevitably flow from that event.

We have said all this because it leads to one obvious conclusion which has tremendous bearing on the nature of the Christian Church. This may be stated briefly: The result of the fact of Christ was the fact of the Church. The series of historial events which occurred in Palestine, and which later Christian thought interpreted as the very incarnation of God in the person of his Son Jesus Christ for the salvation of men — this series of events caused to come into being, on the plane of history, a society which was knit to that Christ by worship, love and obedience. This is the only interpretation of the original picture of the beginnings of the Christian Church, which makes sense of the material found in the New Testament. And since the consequence of the act of God in Christ was precisely this — not merely as the "after-result" of his death and resurrection, but also (as von Hügel pointed out) because during his lifetime he had gathered a group of men and women to be "with him" as sharers in his work and companions in his journeyings and "learners in his school" — the

Church cannot be properly understood or even really known, in its true essence, apart from that act of God. The converse is also true. For the Church is, in fact, the reflex of the act of God in Christ. Or, otherwise stated, it is the divine and inevitable consequence and result of that which Christian faith conceives God to have done for man in Christ. It is, then, as much part of the Gospel as is the Lord himself. The Gospel is the good news of God's mighty act for man's redemption; the Church is the community which is not only the bearer of the message of God's act, but is also the actual result of the act, in which its benefits are found. Hence, in a true and important sense, the Church is very redemption itself.

The total New Testament picture, both in its own integrity and when seen from the standpoint of Christian faith as it looks back retrospectively to this account of its origins, is the picture of the creation by God of a society which will so mediate the salvation of Christ that it will be, in its inner reality, his "Body." It will be Christ's — that is, God-in-Christ's — essential instrument in bringing redemption to men. Obviously, as the primitive Church so clearly understood and as modern scholarship has made certain, this community sprang from the older Israel. It is not entirely *de novo* any more than the Incarnation itself was an entirely new act of God without relationship to the past history of man. In each instance, Jewish religion is the essential preparation for that which was newly wrought and newly established. But in each instance also, something *was* newly wrought and newly established. The supreme and crucial act of God for men, therefore, is not Christ alone, nor is it Christ and his Church; rather, it is Christ-Church, Christ in his Church and his Church in him as its Lord and sole meaning.

This fundamental Christocentrism of the Church, however, is not to be understood in a *falsely* Christocentric way, as if it were directed to the humanity of Jesus alone. On the contrary, as the Lord Jesus himself is portrayed, both in the New Testament and in central Christian theology, as uniquely significant for the very reason that he is God-in-human life, God-made-man, God-Man; so the Church is related to Christ as Head by way of its being the society in which God, *through* the humanity which he has taken to himself in Christ, is carrying on the work of bringing others into that Body which (as Ephesians puts it) is in the end to be the fullness of Christ.

As we have indicated, the converse of the statement that Christ is

essential to the Church is also true — namely, that the Church is essential to our knowledge of and communion with Christ. New Testament criticism in recent years, and more especially since the beginning of the investigation of sources by the form-critical school, has insisted that it is impossible to understand, or even to know, the historical figure of Jesus, in any genuinely significant sense, unless he is approached through the life and faith of the community which, in Dr. John Knox's fine phrase, "remembers Jesus." But this is not true alone of historial research. It is even more true of the dogmatic understanding of Jesus, and the life of communion with him as Lord. He can never be correctly assessed or satisfactorily comprehended, in his total Christian significance, apart from the Church and its dogmatic witness — and, what is more, apart from the Church as itself the community which, in a sense that is much deeper than conventional, "remembers Jesus." The reason for this is simply that the Church is, so to say, the other side of the story; it is the divine community which is the Body of Christ, the special instrument for his continued relatedness to the world, so far as his incarnate life and its "benefits" are concerned.

This is not to say, of course, that there is no knowledge of God apart from the Church. That would be an absurd claim, and false on the face of it. Neither is it to deny that outside the Church and apart from the Church's faith, much can be known even about the historic figure of Jesus. At this point, Brunner has gone too far. This historic Jesus is *not* a "mummy" when he is approached without Christian faith. It is certainly true that the witness of the primitive Church, as embodied in the "forms" collected in our gospels, is our only source for knowing more about Jesus than that such a person existed at a given time and place. Granted this, a non-believer can surely use the materials to learn something about a real, historic figure, who can be studied, to some degree understood, and to some degree "followed" by loving souls. But he cannot be understood in the full significance of his person, as act of God in human terms, without a reference to the Christian Church; lacking such dependence, he cannot be followed in the sense in which historically Christians have used the phrase. For this, the Church itself is involved as being itself part of the significance of Christ, and part of the following after him, since it is the continued and yet identical act of God in human terms — the Body of Christ present in the world through the ages.

It may be objected that, empirically speaking, the Church does not "look like this." The objection can be allowed. Indeed, it would be blind and presumptuous to contradict it. The sin, error and weakness of the Church as empirically perceived are certainly facts and tragic facts; and to them due consideration must be given in other connections. But at the moment we are concerned with the *essence* of the Church, its true and essential being in the divine intention, with that which in eternal fact it really is. Furthermore, we are concerned with at least one empirically verifiable fact — that, apart from the Church there would today be no genuine knowledge of Jesus, no adequate understanding of him, and no self-forgetful love, worship and obedience directed towards him, beyond that possible in the case of any other rather vaguely-known historical figure. *Had it not been for the Church*, the New Testament would not have been written. We should then be obliged to depend, for our knowledge of the Lord, upon the few references in Suetonius, Tacitus and Pliny, and perhaps Josephus, in which some mention is made of Jesus. Or, if the New Testament *had* been written and the Church had died out of the picture shortly after the writing, we should then have had a series of pamphlets that were without an institutional "carrier" and that would very likely have gone the way of other and similar books of the time. Jesus would have had a significance, ultimately, not unlike that of Apollonius of Tyana or some other religious leader of the Graeco-Roman period. Whether we happen to like the fact or to dislike it, it *is* the fact that the community has made Jesus a reality, and for Christian faith has made him a reality as being more than man. Of course the community did not *create* this figure; but it sprang into being around him, and regarded itself as meaningful only because it was *his* fellowship, at first as the band of disciples and followers in his earthly days, and later as his continuing Body, which had been divinely established for this very purpose.

There can be no doubt that among the religious problems of our time the relation of the empirical Church, in its sin, weakness and error, to the Church as the Body of Christ looms large for Christians. To this problem we hope to give attention elsewhere. Here we may at least assert that the first great task of the Church is, in familiar words, "to be the Church." This means that the Church must realize, by such penitence and prayer as are hers, the nature which in fact is already real in God's intention and purpose. The Church does not

strive after an ideal; instead, it realizes, or must realize, the truth about itself.

III

The nature of the Church as the Body of Christ must now be more fully described. This Pauline phrase, classically found and developed with considerable picturesque detail in I Corinthians, is without doubt the most satisfactory description of the true character of the Christian community. As St. Paul himself develops it, the notion seems pre-eminently biological: the Church, that is, is clearly intended to be analogous to the human body — it is a living organism. This understanding of the Pauline notion is borne out by the apostle's references to the members of the Church, who are described as being inter-related and interdependent, like the integrated parts of a living organism. It is likewise indicated by his use of the term "head" for Christ himself; and it is shown by his conception of an indwelling principle of unity which works through the Body — or, perhaps more accurately speaking, *is* the Body in its integral aspect — and which is referred to as the "Holy Spirit." Obviously the phrase "Body of Christ" cannot be pressed to absurd lengths, because it is a metaphor and remains a metaphor. Yet is is not *just* a metaphor. And even if, in St. Paul himself, the relation of Christ as head and informing life of the Body to the Holy Spirit as principle of unity and integral life of the Body, is ill-defined and in some of his references seems to be rather confused, the total picture emerges plain and clear. The metaphor of the Body of Christ is not mere metaphor; it is to be taken very seriously, as being for St. Paul the only adequate description of the Church. It is both vivid and illuminating for our own thinking.

For what is a body? In the sense in which, plainly enough, St. Paul is using the term, and in the meaning which can properly be ascribed in such a conception as that now engaging our attention, a body may be defined as an instrumental agent, a vehicle of expression, a means of persisting identity and outward-moving action, a way in which some invisible or spiritual reality manages to "get itself across," "to make itself known." Clearly what is implied, therefore, in the picture of the Church as the Body of Christ is that, as in man who is union of soul and body the former is expressed and operative through the latter, so Christ who is integrally one with his Church, uses the Church (and uses it as a reality united to him in the most intimate

manner) for the purpose of getting his work done in the world after he has been withdrawn from the world so far as his personal physical body is concerned. The Church becomes then, as it were, "the social humanity of Jesus"; and of it may be predicated much, if not everything, that could be predicated of his personal physical humanity in the days of his flesh.

Such a conception implies, in the first place, the closest possible relation of the Church as Body of Christ to the Lord himself. And by that token, it also implies the closest possible relation of the several members of the Church one to another. As they are knit together with Christ, so they are knit together one with another, in that total unity of life which is theirs in and by Christ himself. Without *him*, that unity would not exist; with him as the bond of union in the organism which is his identical expressive medium, the unity is possible and inevitable.

Hence it follows, as the proper consequence of such *life-in-union*, that the particular quality which distinguishes the Christian society from all others is charity. This indeed is logically implied by such intimate fellowship as St. Paul has insisted must mark the Church as the Body of Christ. Quite apart from any particular position in Christian ethics, and even without our Lord's command that we "love one another," it would be necessary for the Church to have such *life-in-love* if it be truly the Body of Christ. Life-in-union *means* life-in-love. This is because the life of Christ indwells the Church and knits it into one; and, if that be true, the most intimate possible union of Church and its Head, Christ, and of members of the Church one with another, must exist. Such a union is union-in-love. Love, as we are using the term here, is of course to be understood as neither indiscriminate sentimentality nor sexual passion. It is that mutual interpenetration, mutual inter-relatedness, mutual concern, which is suggested in human relationships but which, in them, is always and to some degree frustrated or marked by self-seeking or desire for possession.

The Russians have used the word *sobornost* to describe this fellowship-in-love. They insist, quite correctly, that it is the peculiar and identifying mark of the Christian Church. Where such charity is not openly exhibited, it is a sign that the members of the Church have failed to be true to that which is in very fact the essence of their life-in-union as Christians in the Body of Christ. When such charity does manifest itself in behaviour and in interior spirit, it means that the

true nature of the Church, latently true at all times because the Church is eternally the Body of Christ, is becoming patently clear to the world, through the realization by the members of that which indeed they and the Church really are. This conception is, perhaps, the most interesting and valuable contribution which Russian theology can make to the West; we shall do well to penetrate deeply into its implementation in the writings of such thinkers as Khomiakoff.

Another implication of the conception of the Church as an organism, an integral unity which is the Body of Christ, is that every aspect of the Church's life has an inter-relationship and interdependence with every other aspect. It is often recognized that this is true of members of the Church: if one member suffer, the others suffer with him; if one rejoice, so do the others. But the principle is true likewise of the various areas of the life of the Church itself. Its faith or essential dogmatic affirmations; its worship and liturgy; its disciplined life or way of living, so far as its members are concerned in their personal lives and in their corporate Christian witness to act Christianly; and also its ministry or means of continuing its several functional activities — all of these are so related one to another, and so dependent one on another, that harm to one will eventually result in harm to the others. On the other hand, further clarification of any one, fuller realization of the possibilities inherent in it, and such development and growth as may enhance the significance of any part, will bring about similar clarification, realization and enhancement in the others. Naturally it should be remembered that no single aspect of the Church's life can be overdeveloped at the expense of the others. In a physical body, such overdevelopment of one member produces internal maladjustment and poor health, and can result in death. Likewise in the Church, development and growth are to be balanced and sane. Over-emphasis can produce maladjustment and do much damage to the Church's life. The faith of the Church, the worship of the Church, the supernatural life in grace which belongs to the Church and its members, the Church's ministry, are each of them equally essential to the Body of Christ; each functions best when it serves the whole; the whole is most itself when each is held with due balance and proportion in regard to the others.

The bearing of these considerations on certain contemporary problems facing the Church would appear obvious. They must be investigated in some detail, for they will yield much light and assistance as

we face the modern world, the demand for unity, the nature of dogma, the place of worship, the necessity for Christian personal and social action.

IV

The principle here enunciated would seem eternally significant. The Christian community is an ancient, socially conveyed, tradition of faith, worship and life; and the carrier of this tradition is itself historically "conditioned," to use the technical barbarism, by its own past as is true of any organism. Furthermore, the Christian community belongs more to the order of vertebrates than to that of invertebrates; that is to say, it requires some persisting skeletal structure which shall guarantee persistence of type and the identity of being which appertains to a healthy vertebrate organism. Metaphors are always dangerous, and we cannot expect a *precise* correspondence between physical bodies and the Church as the Body of Christ; nevertheless, metaphors very often are suggestive and helpful, and in the special matter which we are considering singularly illuminating. The Church needs some guarantee of its integrity in continuity. Such a guarantee, not unlike a skeletal structure, we may well believe, is provided for the tradition by the historic ministry of the Church, as it has developed from inchoate beginnings into a now ancient yet contemporaneously effective instrument for the maintenance and propagation of the Christian faith historically understood, the conduct of liturgical worship for the community, and the empowering and expressing of the distinctively Christian moral standards and qualities.

This brings us directly to the final point which should be made in this connection. As the Church is the Body of Christ, the Church is by that very token a society that is *directly* related to the act of God in Christ. This relation must be in historical terms, since it is a relationship existing in a world which is historically determined. The duration of the Body of Christ in time, its historical continuity, its connection with its own past and through that past with the central fact of the Incarnation of God in Christ and the atoning work wrought by God through him, are the guarantee of the Church's true nature and the certification that it is here, not by accident or incident, but as an *essential* element in the total act of God by which the world's redemption was effected.

On the other hand, this historical continuity does not preclude future development. In fact, it alone is the condition which makes safe and sound development possible. Picturesquely put, Christianity is an historical tradition, with the present age as the spear-head of the tradition, pushing on into the future. We may therefore confidently expect that the Body of Christ will continue to grow, even to change in certain areas of its expression. We today cannot dictate the Church's precise manner of expressing its faith, worship or life, or even the arrangement of its ordered ministry, when the Church has grown to its proper fullness, millennia hence, if that should ever be. But the historical continuity of the Church with the act of God in Christ, and the necessity for persistence of type and identity of being, will mean that the Church does not *go back on* its own past. It develops *from* its past; it does not develop *in contradiction* of it.

This may mean, for example, a deepening understanding and application of the faith in Jesus Christ as God-Man, God-in-human life; it may suggest a constantly renewed and expanding appreciation of the significance of the Eucharist, as the means of worship by which that faith is continually stated and imparted in the community's life; it may demand a wider and wider implementation of the supernatural standards and qualities of Christian behaviour; and, so far as the ministry is concerned, it may imply a development of the various "orders of ministry" which will more satisfactorily fulfill their function as representative of the Church in effecting its life, worship and work. This need not involve, and it may be said with assurance *must* not involve, the discarding of any fundamental element in the Christian tradition. It does involve, and *must* involve, the fuller development of the meaning of that tradition, and its renewed application in every new circumstance in which the Body of Christ finds itself.

EMERGENCY CO-OPERATION AND PERMANENT CHURCH PRACTICE

By MARK A. DAWBER

A LEAFLET distributed by the British Information Service says: "A remarkable war-time story of new links between Church and people comes from the Diocese of Worcester, where under the leadership of the Bishop, churches of varying denominations have co-operatively made contact with factories and other centres of public life." (*The Spiritual Issues of the War, November 1943*).

The tragedy behind this incident is that it took a war to bring it to pass and the deeper possible tragedy is that when the war is over, such co-operative experiences will cease.

Similar novel co-operative projects have been carried out on an interchurch basis in many areas of the United States affected by war emergency conditions. They have been fostered and guided interdenominationally by the Christian Commission for Camp and Defense Communities. Their impressive results have been summarized in the reports of this agency and popularized in such effective pamphlets as "A Bulwark Never Failing." Are the experiences and practices to which the denominations have been led in the emergency likely to lead to habits and commitments which will "stay put"? May it be assumed that what has been done has been done from any deep conviction on the part of those who are administratively responsible that this is permanently the way to do things, or that it is likely to continue when the war is over?

It is dangerous to assume that types of co-operation achieved in an emergency will continue in the more normal peacetime period. Their basis in economic and social determinism must be taken into account, and these, one fears, rather than any deep desire for co-operation or any profound convictions as to the moral principle involved, are responsible for many of the projects that have been possible in this war emergency. We still have the tremendous task of converting and educating denominational leadership in the moral values and necessity of Christian co-operation. There is, however, this hopeful word that can be said. These wartime experiences offer

an educational opportunity; what is needed is that they shall be used more definitely to this end, rather than be thought of as an escape mechanism for the emergency period only.

In saying this I am not trying to justify an old "peeve." What has been said comes out of a considerable fresh correspondence and conversation both with denominational and interdenominational leaders. Without exception the interdenominational leaders are saying that these co-operative experiences must continue after the war. With a few exceptions the denominational leaders are saying that these co-operative programs were only intended to serve an emergency and, when that is over, we must expect to return to the old denominational pattern. I think it should be stated very emphatically just now that these co-operative war emergency ventures will be the occasion of a "show-down" in the matter of continuing united service in common Christian tasks. So I would reiterate, as the first consideration, the necessity of using these emergency experiences for more definite educational ends. This is a question for Councils of Churches, Federations and ministerial associations under whose auspices these projects have been launched locally. It is also a responsibility of the several national Councils and, in particular, of the Christian Commission for Camp and Defense Communities.

There is need as well for a much wider publicity regarding these co-operative ventures. Millions of church members should be made aware of what has happened. By this process of education we would create a ground swell of public opinion in the churches that would help tremendously to continue the influence of these emergency experiences as a modifying process in the post-war period.

And now to come to grips with the question more specifically. How should the experience of emergency co-operation permanently modify church practice? I have communicated with many of those who have been at the heart of these co-operative experiences, and shall draw extensively upon their replies for my conclusions.

I

Strategy. First, there is the matter of strategy. Most of the replies from interdenominational leaders suggest that this is an important factor. The lack of an accepted strategy for co-operative work is stated as one of the greatest drawbacks, and the writers suggest that one of the great contributions to the continuing co-operation would be to

develop out of the present experiences such a strategy as would re main to modify permanently the practice of the churches and de nominations. A church federation secretary who has been close t the war emergency projects in two great cities, Dr. John Harms, nov of Chicago, writes as follows:

> In my estimation, the war-time emergency has shown up the fact that Protestant ism has an inadequate strategy for meeting the problems with which it is faced In spite of the sincere desire on the part of many denominational leaders to ap proach the task co-operatively and the excellent co-operation that has been given on almost every hand, still it has to be said that our basic strategy has been in adequate.
>
> This has been clearly demonstrated in our Protestant relationships with the USO. Unless Protestantism will actually face the fact that it must have some agency for giving corporate expression and representation in such community-wide ventures, we shall continue to be in the anomalous position of having money given from Protestant sources being used to a considerable extent to the disadvantage of Protestant churches; and of being strategically at a decided disadvantage in our relations to the other faiths and with community organizations. . . .
>
> The Christian Service Men's League seems to me to be a conspicuous example of where we have succeeded in laying the foundations for co-operative endeavor that is equal to the situation. Is it not true that this is the only conspicuous instance of where we have actually measured up in full to a total responsibility in a given area so far as our basic plans are concerned?
>
> There are outstanding examples of adequate and successful Protestant planning in limited ways. My observation is directed to the point of over-all planning which promises to be comprehensive and adequate on a national level.
>
> The constructive meaning of this seems to me for Protestant churches to evaluate this experience, and begin now to make the comprehensive plans which are necessary if the churches of the Reformation are to wield an influence in local community and national life which is worthy of their own heritage in America and in Christendom.

II

Increased Range of Co-operation. Another value that is coming out of the co-operative experiences in war emergency is that certain denominations which have hitherto refused to have any relations with a state or city Council of Churches have been willing, under a war emergency program, to participate in some of the projects. This would suggest that certain denominations will come to accept this larger relationship to Councils only as they participate in some practical experience, and not because they are requested to join a Council by subscribing to some co-operative pronouncement. Again allow a

Council secretary to speak. I quote from Miss Marion Ulmer, secretary of the Maine Council:

So far as we can see here in Maine, the results of the close co-operation we have experienced in working out our service to the industrial defense families will be a continued drawing together in similar activities in the years ahead. By that, I do not necessarily mean that we are going to be able to win to full Council membership the denominations not now in the Council; nor do I think that the most important thing which could be accomplished. This war-time service has demonstrated that groups, both in the Council membership and outside, could work together when the challenge of the need was sufficiently great to bring them together. In our case, one new denomination will come into membership as a direct result of this war-time co-operation, and there is a much closer fellowship existing between all because of this work done together.

In this same vein another Council secretary, Dr. I. George Nace of Portland, Oregon, has the following to say:

One thing is constantly impressing itself upon us, namely, that we must look to increased co-operation on the part of the Protestant churches in ministering to the needs of our people in days to come. Our experience in Portland has revealed the possibility of more intimate co-operation with groups who heretofore have hesitated in participating in any inter-church program. I refer particularly to the Lutheran groups and to the attitude of some of the Baptists in our community. In our United Church Ministry to Defense Communities we have had the satisfaction of co-operation unknown heretofore on the part of the National Lutheran Council. Even the Missouri Lutheran Synod group has shown an inclination to co-operation, something of which we have never heard before. We believe that the experience gained during these war years will tend to larger co-operation on the part of these groups.

III

Meeting "Impending Paganism." Reference has already been made to a kind of godlessness that is driving the religious forces to do certain things together that otherwise would not be done and, while I have said that too much credit could not be given for co-operation under such circumstances, I am nonetheless convinced that we should take full advantage of the same to achieve the ends we have in mind. This godlessness is not only to be found in the cities, where the people have come in large numbers for war industry, but it has also left behind in the denuded rural areas a situation that is equally perilous. Quoting again from Miss Ulmer's reply:

So far as our whole state program is concerned, I believe this experience will greatly affect it. We are determined that there will be some way found by which

we can minister more effectively to our great untouched rural areas. Only by some such method as that used to serve the industrial defense communities can this be done. We now have six full-time workers supported by eight or ten denominations, and I am more and more convinced that we must work out a statesmanlike plan for a co-operative ministry to these same families when they go back home, and to the thousands who are now in the rural areas, which will permit us to have at least half as many full-time rural workers in the post-war period. I do not believe it is beyond the realm of possibility to expect that the national Home Missions Boards of the denominations will give us help, since we have demonstrated that we can do a truly co-operative piece of work to meet a temporary *emergency*. The impending paganism which Dr. William DeWitt Hyde saw coming to our state in 1890 has in certain aspects become reality, at least in the sense that thousands of our people are completely out of touch with any church at all. In those few areas where an actual attack is being made upon the situation, there is excellent response; we must find the technique for pooling every available Protestant resource to meet the biggest opportunity our Council has — that of serving more adequately the rural areas.

The problem stated here is not only that of a greatly reduced population in these areas but, in particular, that of the removal of religious leadership, especially that of ministers. Dr. W. H. Thompson of the Ohio Council makes the following observation:

Because of the shortage of local pastors, due to large numbers having entered the chaplaincy of the armed services, the Conference and District Superintendents, and other denominational executives having responsibilities in eastern Ohio, have had a series of informal conferences during the past six months, frankly agreeing that in so far as they are concerned they are willing to encourage local churches to share, for the duration, the services of such pastors as remain upon the field.

The problem that will face us after the war is to get a continuity of such an arrangement. If this is good for war, it is good for peace.

IV

Co-operative Organization in Smaller Communities. Another suggestion that comes out of these observations is the need of organizing ministers' associations in these small communities. They are the natural nucleuses of interchurch effort and, if the experiences of war emergency co-operation are to modify the future practice of the churches, it will require this organized approach. National and state Councils of Churches should foster the organization of such local associations where they do not exist, and should help to strengthen them where they are weak. Harlan Frost, late Secretary of the Christian Commissions for War and Defense Communities, urges that Ministers' as-

sociations should be encouraged to add lay representation to meet, say, quarterly — one man, one woman and one young person to meet with the ministers. It is my observation that wherever the lay folk have been included in the planning for co-operative Christian work it has never failed to succeed or to continue. Many illustrations of this fact could be given.

Harlan Frost suggests, secondly, that ministers' associations should be encouraged "to undertake a few needed projects. These should reach all the way from community celebrations to emphasize various parts of a church year, to becoming responsible for permanent on-going work. All those things which belong to a total community viewpoint as over against a purely parish viewpoint should be the co-operative concern of all and not the responsibility of one."

V

The New Migrancy. Another factor that would suggest continuing co-operation and the modification of denominational practice is the continuing migrancy of people. The war has accentuated the mobility of American life. The necessity to move from place to place in order to secure employment will doubtless continue in peace-time industry in a much larger degree than was noted before the war. Whether we like it or not this undoubtedly means that mobility has become a more permanent feature in the industrial life of America. We are accustomed to migrancy in agriculture and, let it be observed, the denominations have been perfectly willing that the ministry to agricultural migrants should be carried on interdenominationally. Perhaps this has been due to the fact that they knew it would be impossible to establish churches as permanent institutions among agricultural migrants. However that may be, we now face a similar development among the workers of industry. The war emergency has opened the eyes of the church to the necessity of providing industrial workers with the ministry of religion *where they are*, as against the old formula of asking these workers to come where the church is. Allow me to quote Dr. I. George Nace again: "We have all too often and easily said that the place for people to worship is in the church and then expected them to come. These war years have demonstrated the value of a program on the part of the churches that reaches them in their own community and even in the industrial center where they may be employed."

VI

The Church and Labor. In this connection another important factor deserves serious consideration. It is the place of religion in organized labor. Organized labor is not in the church. That is to say that religion for the most part has not reached the great mass of people that we think of as "labor."

The Roman Catholic Church has succeeded better than Protestantism but has done nothing to boast about. The experiences in the war emergency would suggest that a technique has been found to bridge this gulf between the church and labor. Many of the projects have discovered an eagerness on the part of employers to co-operate in undergirding the life of the employees with a spiritual ministry. We have reason to believe that this will continue in peace-time. We also have reason to believe that there are areas of labor that will be more receptive to the message of the church than in the past. This should provide an opportunity for a co-operative exercise of religion in the post-war world. The growth of pressure groups in American life and the rising power of labor suggest that the chaplaincy technique, whereby a minister is serving an industrial unit through institutional relations of management and labor, is worthy of experimentation in peace-time industry.

VII

Racial Minorities. No discussion of the question of co-operative religion in war emergency would be complete that did not give some consideration to the race problem. The situation in Detroit, Los Angeles, Boston, and many Southern cities that might be named is too fresh in our minds, as the result of recent race riots or anti-race demonstrations, to require much elaboration. But we are fortunately able to point to one bit of co-operative service in race relations in war industry that we believe has helped much to minimize race conflict and thus prevent riots.

In the early days of the war emergency the Christian Commission for Camp and Defense Communities, in co-operation with the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council, was able to secure the services of a well trained, experienced Negro in the person of Dr. Irving K. Merchant. His task has been that of visiting the centers of war industry where there was an influx of Negroes and of

helping to get them absorbed into the church life, to see that a ministry was provided for them, and, most important, to set up interracial committees of the churches to meet the situation at the grass roots. Not only was this interracial co-operation necessary but there was great need of the development of interdenominational co-operation among the Negro church leaders. We have still a long way to go, but a good start has been made and some of us are convinced that the war emergency made this possible. This must be conserved in the post-war period at whatever cost. Mr. Merchant has the following to say, which I think should be taken seriously:

> There should come quickly a breakdown in the present overlapping and a closer and more friendly spirit of co-operation between and among the churches. The co-operation of state and city Federations of Churches in our wartime program bespeaks well for the post-war period, and the "kinks" in the co-operative movement should be ironed out now. Some of these Councils and Federations need to better understand the work and purpose of the Federal Council of Churches and the Home Missions Council. Education, and more education is needed. Excellent gains have been made in interdenominational planning and these should be conserved, and put to even greater use in the post-war days. That much good has been done by church workers, civilian chaplains, etc. in defense communities, no one can deny. This program will need to be carried over for some years after the war. The workers now engaged in this program should be retained through a united budget from the several denominations.

Interracial friendliness that has been fostered during the war emergency should be lifted into the light of a basic Christian virtue. The principles of interracial co-operation which have been worked out in some of the war industry communities are good and necessary for peace-time and should be continued. If for no other reason than this the denominations should desire to modify their patterns after the war.

Another interesting development in race relations as a result of the war emergency relates to the program of church life in the Japanese-American evacuation centers and the plans going forward for the religious life of these people in the resettlement areas.

Immediately after the order that the people of Japanese ancestry be placed in the evacuation centers it became necessary to reorganize their religious life. Hitherto they were loyal members of denominational missions, but now it became necessary to unite. Under the auspices of the Home Missions Council, the Commission for Service to the Japanese was organized, consisting of those denominational

leaders who were responsible for religious work among the people of Japanese ancestry. The churches in the evacuation centers were organized as federated churches or union churches. The Japanese ministers were evacuated to the centers without regard to their denominational status and have served most acceptably in a program of co-operative Christianity. So successful has this proved to be that the American-born Japanese, as they are being released from these centers and placed in resettlement areas, have expressed the desire not to be organized into denominational Japanese churches.

Another forward-looking program has also been agreed upon and is already in operation in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, and other cities where resettlement has taken place. I can best describe this by citing the action taken by the national and regional denominational administrators at a meeting in Chicago in September and recently confirmed by a delegated body of Japanese-Americans at an important conference in Denver, December 15–17:

1. We recommend that the denominational churches in the communities where the evacuees are going should be encouraged to provide a church home for these people and incorporate them into the membership of the church.

2. We look upon the integration of the people of Japanese descent into the membership of Caucasian churches as the ultimate ideal, and in the immediate future would suggest that separate Japanese churches should be organized only in very exceptional situations and that these should be organized on an interdenominational basis.

3. We recommend that Japanese pastors released from the Centers should be appointed as assistant pastors, or as extension ministers, to several of these churches that will be serving the evacuees. The primary task will be that of pastoral visitation, but with a minimum of separate worship services, and these only for those who do not speak the English language.

4. We also recognize that even where the people of Japanese descent have been integrated into the membership of the Caucasian churches it will still be necessary to provide adequate and acceptable social fellowship for them as a group in the church and in the community. We therefore would strongly urge that the churches make ample provision for separate activities by and for the people of Japanese descent within the church plant, with the Caucasians giving cordial co-operation.

5. Also where possible we urge that interdenominational arrangements and facilities be provided for separate meetings for people of Japanese descent, making such activities the stepping stone to integration into membership in Caucasian churches.

6. In view of the fact that the religious work for people of Japanese descent in the evacuation centers is now organized on an interdenominational basis, we again express the hope that separate denominational churches will not be organized in the resettlement areas.

All of this stands out as glowing testimony to the fact that the experiences of co-operation in war emergency can and should modify the practice of the church in peace-time.

VIII

Preparation for Continuing Emergency. There is one other consideration to be kept in mind that will necessitate continuing co-operation. It is that there will be a long-continuing emergency. Dr. Harlan N. Frost has stated the case in three brief paragraphs:

> The probability of the presence in American life for some years to come of a larger military force than the nation has been accustomed to suggests that the present war emergency services established by the various denominations may well become permanent and if they do become permanent a co-operative ministry similar to the Commission needs to be maintained.
>
> The churches must take immediate steps to see that either through a chaplaincy in the Veteran's Administration or through a plan of civilian-minister responsibility, the church is related to those that return wounded and who will be in convalescent hospitals over a long period. This is a task to be done unitedly; no denominational approach will do.
>
> The unprecedented size of present American military forces means that returning service men after the war will form a body of opinion that will be catered to by all seeking political office. Ways and means by which the church can infiltrate veteran's organizations with something of Christian principle and thought is of the first importance. The Service Men's Christian League may contain the germ of a church veteran's group which can at least act in the way of yeast in the loaf.

IX

Survey. Another experience that has been made imperative by these war emergency needs is the assembling of the facts and a knowledge and interpretation of the same such as would enable all parties to community situations to act intelligently. In many of the war emergency situations, before proceeding to prescribe the program or determine the leadership, some survey and research have been conducted. But no denomination can survey its work by looking at itself alone; it must see itself in the total situation and that is a task beyond any one denomination.

Of all the experiences we have had in the war emergency that should modify the actions of the denominations in peace-time, the interdenominational approach in survey and research is one that has demonstrated its validity as a continuing process. Our revered departed friend, Dr. William Adams Brown, was exceedingly concerned

at this point, and I could think of no more important memorial to Dr. Brown than that of establishing an interdenominational survey and research service which would bring to all of us, denominationally and interdenominationally, the facts and the interpretation of these facts that would enable us to act together intelligently regarding the situations that confront us.

There are also other types of co-operation, methods of approach and organization, that have grown out of the war emergencies such as the volunteer service program of the women, the block assignment following the surveys and the Baltimore Parish Plan, all of which suggest ways and means that should permanently modify the practices of the churches and the denominational program.

In closing I quote from the statement made by Don Pielstick, who has been as close to these war-time emergency tasks as any other one person.

> There is sufficient evidence in the emergency co-operation of the churches to establish, I believe, four clear-cut reasons for modifying old established practices.
>
> 1. The united approach to new areas, where it was united and remained so, has become the most effective approach. The united study of needs, the planning of the program and the pooling of resources, has awakened a new sense of efficiency in meeting responsibility and administering our resources. The old practices of disregard for other religious groups can continue only in the face of established proof of inefficiency and a less effective ministry.
>
> 2. For many years some of us have been concerned as to how we could make an effective impact upon or within secular organizations to put religious interests in upon the ground floor. In our work with the military and Federal agents, we have found that if we work together we can be in on the planning before regulations and practices have been established. Almost as numerous as the communities affected are the examples of this. As denominations we failed but as a united group we received a hearing and our desires where reasonable have been hearkened to. So much so, that time and time again I have been asked to the effect, "why didn't someone tell us about this? We never knew the Church had such ability or leadership." The secular world has been waiting for the Christian church to be Christian enough to be challenging and to demand attention.
>
> 3. What has been felt by leaders of secular organizations is coming to light in the common people. In many places the people the church wished to reach have demanded a united religious approach. In other places where a denominational approach was made the religious leaders have been concerned because of the apparent lethargy of persons who had been good workers in their home church. I have seen these same people come to life and exercise influential leadership when a united program was launched. The churches must satisfy themselves with complacency and lethargy or unite in programs which meet community needs.

4. Finally, our emergency co-operation has shown that if we want religion to become effective in the total community life, then we must produce a religious program and organization which is interested in the daily needs of the common people. Where tenant associations have had the privilege of freely expressing themselves, a hunger for religious life has been revealed, oftentimes in avenues where it was least expected. This means that religious leadership is desired in many places which the church in time past considered to be none of its business. But these new avenues are not interested in sectarianism. Will these fields go unreached because the churches demand a sectarian approach?

Doubtless many other aspects of this question will come to mind, but enough has been presented to get the question before us. Allow me to summarize some of the issues raised in this paper:

(1) The need to give wider publicity to the co-operative work in war emergency as a means to educate the membership of the church in the value of this service and the need to carry this co-operative experience over into peace-time tasks.

(2) The need of a recognized strategy that has come out of these war emergency experiences in co-operation and of getting a commitment to that strategy for peace-time procedure.

(3) The value of definite, practical projects in which the denominations can participate in co-operative Christianity, in contrast with some Council pronouncement to which they are asked to subscribe.

(4) The need to extend the organization for co-operative work to meet the "new paganism" resulting from the uprooting process.

(5) The increasing mobility of industrial workers in American life and the possibility that this will continue in the post-war period.

(6) The necessity of getting a closer contact with organized labor in order to reach the mass of labor with a religious ministry.

(7) The opportunity to deal with the problem of racial minorities.

(8) The continuing emergencies of expanded army life, convalescent hospitals, and the period of demobilization.

(9) Survey, research and other types of service that are common to all the churches and should be shared by all.

TOWARDS A VALID SACRAMENTALISM

By ROGER HAZELTON

THE reawakening of interest in sacramental theory among Protestant thinkers is a hopeful sign. Out of this concern may perhaps come a more truly ecumenical doctrine of the sacraments. Such a doctrine might be able to overcome the annoying absolutism of some communions and the vapid relativism of others. It might, moreover, develop a co-operative understanding among Protestants on the matter of the sacraments which would express less anti-Catholic bias and more adherence to generic and essential Christian principles. To assist in the construction of such a theory is a large, yet urgent, task. Varying and contradictory practices regarding the sacraments constitute a most difficult obstruction in the path of fuller Protestant harmony. Since these problems are rooted in antagonistic interpretations of the sacraments, only the task of thinking together about their nature and meaning can ultimately bridge the differences of practice which now impede ecumenical progress.

This task centers on the matter of validity. Much *ex parte* discussion has dealt with the question of whether particular sacraments are valid. Before this can be determined it must be understood under what conditions any sacrament is valid. A decision as to the general character of sacramental validity must logically precede any application of it to special cases. This paper is concerned, then, with the problem of validity in its broadest, most basic aspects.

I

The Edinburgh Conference of 1937 on Faith and Order rightly distinguished two meanings of validity which have been often, and unfortunately, confused. In the first place, the word is sometimes used to mean that a sacrament has been correctly performed. This can only signify that the sacrament has been administered according to a particular liturgical tradition and a given ecclesiastical pattern. Since these patterns and traditions vary so widely from communion to communion there is no possibility of arriving, on this basis, at a truly ecumenical standard.

Standards for the correct performance of the sacraments do not,

and in the nature of the case cannot, rest upon Scriptural specifications. They rest rather upon sectarian interpretations of general Scriptural statements common to all Christian teaching. For example, the question whether the validity of a sacrament, i.e. its correct performance, presupposes an ordained clergy is one which divides Quakers from Anglicans; yet both groups appeal to the New Testament as support for their opposing answers.

This is not to say that the New Testament cannot or should not be appealed to in sacramental questions, but that if the validity of a sacrament means its correct performance no such appeal is possible. The very word "sacrament" is not Biblical. To read back into the Biblical sources a justification for this or that practice is but to deepen the cleavages of a divided Christendom, and repeat an ancient and tragic error.

Also, the interpretation of sacramental validity as correct performance does not go far enough. The way in which a sacrament is performed follows upon what its nature and function are thought to be. That works do not avail apart from faith has been of the very genius of Protestant understanding. The sacraments are no exception. Mere liturgical correctness is no substitute for that faith, and must even presuppose it.

The second sense of validity mentioned at Edinburgh is far more basic, in Protestant and Catholic faith alike. In this sense the word "valid" means "efficacious." When we ask whether a sacrament is valid we are inquiring what it does, what effects it yields within the Christian fellowship. A sacrament is valid when it is efficacious. Efficacy means power, and power means in turn the capacity to produce an intended effect.

This is the only possible ecumenical sense of "validity," for it may be used to test the practices of the several communions, however diverse. It is also the only possible Protestant sense, since it places the whole discussion outside the limitations of liturgical and sacerdotal correctness to which Protestants have characteristically objected.

Nevertheless some may be disturbed by what seem to them certain Catholic implications of this rendering of sacramental validity. Can one actually hold, they might ask, that the sacraments are efficacious without being committed to the *ex opere operato* position of the medieval scholastics? Must not such a position end, inevitably, in a mechanical and quasi-magical kind of sacramentarianism?

In fact, far from being chargeable with a superstitious Catholicism, such a conception is generically Christian and thoroughly Protestant. From Paul and John, who recognized the sacraments as means of union with Christ, to Augustine, whose conclusions dominated medieval and modern Catholic doctrine, and on through the great theologians of the Reformation, there runs a constant thread of belief in the efficacy of the sacraments. Luther followed the Scotists in conceiving the sacraments to be "efficacious signs" of the divine grace; and Calvin referred to them more than once as "sure pledges of grace." Of course the efficacy of a sacrament depends, for Luther, upon the presence of faith in those who receive it, and, for Calvin, upon predestination, since only the elect receive anything in the sacraments. The important point is that both Reformers accepted and carried forward the primitive, apostolic and Catholic tradition, in which the sacraments were consistently, if not universally, regarded as possessing a non-subjective and divine efficacy.

If sacramental worship is to regain the place it has so largely lost in great areas of Protestantism, this tradition must be reconstructed. Modern Protestants have inherited from their forefathers an anti-Catholic bias which has distorted and even blinded them to much that is essential Christian truth. Now, when an ecumenical understanding has become imperative, it is important for us to see that the Christian faith in the efficacy of sacraments exhibits a remarkable continuity. The Reformers were not so far from Catholic sacramentalism as they, and we, thought they were. The persuasion that the sacraments are actual and effective means of the grace of God cuts deeper than all our divisions; it ennobles the significance of corporate Christian devotion as no other conviction can; and it will, if accepted and vindicated, enrich the living of countless Protestant folk whom worship in our time has thus far left untouched and unchanged.

II

It may be indeed difficult to rehabilitate this sense of efficacy in sacramental worship. Our grasp of the principles of Christian worship has been no meager, so thinly modern, that even the classic Christian truths leave us cold. The liturgical movement, for instance, while it has conferred undoubted benefits on Protestant worship, proceeded more from esthetic and psychological considerations than from the grounds of Christian faith. In spite of the fact that the forms of wor-

ship now in use throughout Protestantism have become more similar, their relation to the common faith remains quite as obscure as ever.

By way of illustration, consider the discussion of the sacraments in terms of symbolism. Recent writers on worship have dealt again and again with the sacrament as a symbol, by which they have usually meant that the outer act represents inner attitudes on the part of the worshipers. The aim of what is said and done in the service of worship thus becomes, in Von Ogden Vogt's words, "to parallel the inner course of the experience of worship." The standard of effective worship is its psychological expressiveness. A sacrament, then, is symbolic in the sense that it voices the feelings and follows the experience of those who partake in it.

Without in the least denying that a sacrament is a symbol, let us be clear what sort of symbol it is. To be sure it has an expressive function; but as Evelyn Underhill has said, it has an impressive function as well. As symbol, it has the capacity to create attitudes as well as express those already there. Within any religious community there is operative a symbolic creativity, wherein the symbols are instruments kindling and shaping the corporate response. To ignore this function is to misunderstand the real potency of symbols, and to relegate them to a secondary and even trivial role in the Christian life.

The historic continuity of Christian faith, and that of other religions as well, cannot be understood apart from the conviction that its sacraments are creative as well as expressive symbols. Nels Ferré has written, "The sacraments, by symbolizing the historic realities by which the church lives, are also instrumental in realizing them." There is much to ponder in the suggestive remark of Baron von Hügel: "I kiss my child because I love her, and kiss her in order to love her more." A sacramental act does not simply come after and give utterance to the faith of those who engage in it. By being administered it becomes a real agent in reproducing and refining the faith. Peter Lombard put it well: "Sacraments therefore are instituted not only for the sake of signifying but also for the sake of sanctifying."

What we may call the principle of symbolic creativity underlies this conception of sacramental validity. In the full Christian sense, it is only as a creative symbol that a sacrament can be thought efficacious. Its efficacy resides, in the first place, in its power to symbolize the working of God upon and within the human spirit, in such creative ways that men are by it motivated and empowered.

In order to understand this principle let us note that symbolic usage in sacramental worship, as in religion generally, is not merely arbitrary and conventional. In some forms of symbolism, such as musical notation and the number-series, the signs are simply tags or labels which come to stand for their objects by the sheer force of convention or association. In another form the sign, such as that of the lamb for gentleness or sacrifice, stands in more intrinsic relation to what it signifies by virtue of genuine if incomplete resemblance to it. Still other symbols, like that of fatherhood for God and the cross for the work of Christ, go even beyond this in degree of penetration into the nature of what is symbolized. Professor W. M. Urban has called these last "insight symbols" — not only do they designate and help us to understand their objects, but make us see them by leading us into a perception of their very nature.

A sacrament contains all these symbolic levels. Yet taken in itself, as a deed of corporate significance, it is primarily symbolic in the third sense. So the Mass becomes for the Catholic a dramatic representation of the Passion, a loving re-enactment of an event in history and at the same time a sharing in its eternal meaning. The Reformation theologians likewise insisted that the Lord's Supper is not merely a memorial but a promise of the divine grace vouchsafed to men. The sacrament is an earnest, a pledge; to borrow a phrase from Professor Hocking, it is "the anticipation of attainment."

Sacramental symbolism is thus creative in a sense deeper than mere expression. It is a "showing forth"; the language used, the behavior enjoined, evoke responses which might not otherwise be made at all. And beyond the evoking of feelings, sacramental symbolism characteristically invokes an Object. As evocative and invocative, such symbolism has a creativity that far transcends the expressive faculty so often noted.

III

A second principle or condition or sacramental efficacy is that of theocentric reference. In the light of this principle must the famous definition attributed to Augustine be understood. "The outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace" has been re-tailored by modern writers to suit modern limitations. A dualism of subject and object, or of physical and spiritual in the vague liberalistic sense, has been read into the definition, — a thing which Augustine never in-

tended. It is altogether clear that for Augustine a sacrament was not so much the outer sign of the faith of men as of the grace of God. That grace indeed is appropriated in and by faith; and it is therefore possible to speak of faith as a condition of its appropriation. Grace itself, it should scarcely be necessary to repeat, is divine in origin and nature, objectively given, though subjectively received. The statement has in mind not the outward expression of a subjective attitude, but two aspects within the sacramental complex itself: the sign and the thing signified, *signum* and *res*.

This perennially important distinction in worship cannot be psychologized away. Nor can it be waved aside by applying a theory of signs which dismisses all religious symbolism as pragmatic and emotional. The fact is that the religious response designates and feeds upon specific acts, things, persons and events as sacred; in Hocking's words, "Worship is too spiritual a process to dispense with the material." At the same time the worshiper treats the object of his regard as meaning something else. The existent sacred embodies, yet never quite discloses, the meaningful sacred.

So fundamental is this discrimination of the sign from what is signified that we disregard it only at the peril of worship itself. Some hallowing of men and things, indeed some localizing of God, the worshiping imagination forever requires. Yet only fanatics and idolaters identify the symbolic token with the meaning it is intended to convey. The distinction is a safeguard against both sacramental materialism and detached spiritualism.

Augustine employed two briefer definitions of a sacrament which illustrate the same distinction. His terms *signum sacrum* and *signum rei sacrae* were widely and interchangeably used in the medieval period. A sacrament is a sacred symbol because it symbolizes a sacred entity. The sign is not the entity, but is sacred because it bears a functioning relation to and derives from the object of its reference.

A sacrament is a symbolic complex which has no meaning apart from God. All that transpires in it assumes the existence of an objective Source of meaning. Further, something is specified about the nature of the Source: words, gestures, and attitudes suggest the character of the divine. In the sacramental act, too, is embodied a confidence that communication, even communion, with God are possible for men. The invisible and spiritual grace of which the Augustinians spoke is nothing else than the working of God.

Sacramental worship, then, is objective worship. Evelyn Underhill has written that it is the proclamation of the divine transcendence. It expresses the faith of men, yet its chief purpose is to celebrate and convey grace. It is objective in at least three respects — as a corporate deed, in its utilization of physical elements, and in its reference to God. Protestant as well as Catholic doctrines support this view, as we shall show.

The relation between nature and grace is much too large a problem to be comprehended in this brief study. A sacramental viewpoint, however, must face the issue. If the sacraments are real events, a universe is implied in which such events can happen. This would not be a world wherein nature and grace stood in dualistic antithesis to each other. Nor would it be one wherein nature is pantheistically absorbed into grace, matter is non-existent and only spirit reigns. A universe in which sacraments can take place is one in which nature and grace are always given together, yet never identical. There is polarity or tension between the carriers of meaning and the meanings so carried. A viability of nature, such that it is "open upwards" to grace, is the first assumption of a sacramental view; the second is divine penetration or "condenscension," "one thing working in another thing," "spirit giving significance to sense." As the divine action stirs within the natural, it does not abolish the natural but controls it, impregnating it with meaning. By the agency of a Creator in the world, to quote Pryzwara, "creatureliness is not cancelled, but consecrated."

In the sacramental complex, grace stands over against nature as well as faith. The words "prevenient" and "irresistible" underscore this objectivity. Protestant thought has insisted upon this conception as notably as has Catholic doctrine. Thus the Augsburg Confession separated sacramental from sacrificial worship more completely than the Council of Trent. The Mass has always been intrepreted by Catholic official doctrine as both sacramental and sacrificial, a bestowal by God and at the same time a self-oblation by man. Yet we find Luther saying in his treatise on the New Testament, "We should not presume to give God something in the sacrament, when it is He who therein gives us all things."

The principle of theocentric reference does not settle any questions about the nature and existence of God. It is an assumption rather than a conclusion, and a rule of reference, not of specification. All we say

here is that it is an assumption which must be made for sacramental worship to be efficacious. The principle is saved from the illusion that God can be contained within any image or thought by the recognition of essential and final mystery. Orthodox usage bears this out in its name, "mystery," for what in the West we call a sacrament. The response of faith to God's grace channeled through the vehicles of nature is instinct with awe and humility. The penumbra of mystery, however, in no wise undermines the objective and God-directed reference of sacramental action. Instead it strengthens the conviction that men have here to do with a Being whom faith can but poorly receive and nature but brokenly reveal.

IV

A third principle conditioning sacramental validity is that of corporate intention. This condition is important to Protestant thought because it treats of the place of faith in the sacraments which Protestantism has always stressed. Yet it should not be supposed, as is popularly done, that Catholic doctrine lacks such an emphasis.

In some respects Orthodox doctrine comes closer to an *ex opere operato* position than that of Western Christianity. It is the *epiclesis* or invocation by a properly ordained priest that consecrates the Mystery and, together with the proper material element, renders it efficacious. The *epiclesis* is no mere form of words, however. It becomes the effective consecrating agent only if the priest has "the definite intention of consecrating it." Even here the efficacy of the sacrament depends upon the intention of its celebrant.

The West places the same stress upon intention. The bull *Exultate Deo* of 1439 and the Tridentine decrees affirmed that the sacraments "contain and confer grace," which is to say that they are efficacious. The same sources state that the priest, though he may be immoral and heretical without harm to the sacrament, must "have the intention of doing what the church does." How the presence or absence of such intention in the ministrant is to be determined has never been officially decided. It is enough for the present purpose to note simply that the intention does constitute a necessary condition of sacramental efficacy.

The Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of all believers has the effect, not of nullifying this requirement, but of generalizing it. If all believers are priests, then all must have the intention of doing

what the church does. This takes for granted a common understanding by the congregation of what a sacrament is, its purpose, and how this aim is achieved. More than this, it implies that the sacrament itself is a corporate deed issuing from a corporate will.

To accept the principle of corporate intention is to take a truly ecumenical view of the Church. It requires that all individual and sectarian perspectives be compounded in the spiritual unity of all Christendom. No local group, no single cohesion of an empirical sort, can form the Church whose intention is a criterion of sacramental efficacy. The Church appealed to is a spiritual communion, which, as Luther warned, must be kept distinct in thought from the empirical association, though never quite separated from it. This Church is the organ of God's presence and work, the Body of which Christ is the Head. Again, Protestant and Catholic thought are substantially one in attributing this character of a spiritual organism to the Church.

It is faith which makes the Church organic in this spiritual manner. To administer or receive a sacrament signifies an intention to do as the Church does, by giving corporate expression in a significant deed to the faith that is in the members of a congregation, that their faith may be renewed and furthered. To be sacramentally efficacious, that faith must be a living, continuing fellowship with God in Christ. Faith in fellowship, and fellowship in faith, alone make possible the corporate Christian intention.

When we ask why the Church does what it does in the sacraments, we come upon the problem of their institution. It is the Church's intention to engage in sacramental worship because it believes the sacraments in some sense to have been instituted by God. Does this mean that the particular existent forms of sacramental practice are all alike commanded by God? Clearly not; their confusing, contradictory variety mock the thought. Nevertheless, it does mean that the Church is the work and construction of God, and that therefore what the Church does, when it is most itself, mirrors and carries forward the divine purpose.

Thus it is faith alone that can perceive what God intended, and hence what the Church intends. So Paul held that if faith is lacking the Lord's Supper might do the worshiper harm rather than good; and Augustine likewise emphasized that only those who have faith benefit from the sacraments. The insistence that where there is no

faith the sacraments are without efficacy places us upon firm Christian ground.

The force of symbolic creativity can operate only where there is this corporate intention stemming from a shared faith. Similarly, the real presence of God is revealed only to those who have eyes of faith to see. When all three conditions are present together a sacrament is efficacious. Given these conditions, it must become a vehicle through which God works with particular effectiveness in and among men, a valid means of grace.

V

The ecumenical movement in Christendom must again lay hold upon these principles, not merely for its understanding of the sacraments, but in their practice. As sacramental activity has been a potent source of disunion, so it must become a prime factor in reunion. Administrative changes and doctrinal agreements will not suffice to bring the desired end about unless an agreement in principle on the nature of sacramental efficacy can be reached. For the Church, according to immemorial and universal tradition, is a sacramental organism. The Christian fellowship, whether Orthodox or Quaker, and irrespective of its variations in practice, understands itself to be an organism compounded of spirit and matter. Archbishop Temple has defined a sacrament as "a spiritual utilization of a material object by which a spiritual result is effected." In that sense the Christian Church is through and through sacramental.

CONTEMPORARY BOOKS

NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY, *by* CLARENCE TUCKER CRAIG. *Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, $2.75.*

PROFESSOR CRAIG'S new book combines an introduction to the New Testament with a history of New Testament times — to use the older terminology. Or rather, it is a New Testament introduction in the form of a history, which, the author maintains, is the proper way for students to begin the subject. In an *Introduction*, beginners are often lost in the mass and variety of detail; it is really for advanced students. What the student in college or the young seminarian needs is the story of how the New Testament came into existence, what its various component writings meant when they were first produced, and what lay behind the situation they were designed to meet. Thus the book is organized in the following five divisions: The Background of the Gospel (the land, the people, Jewish religious life), The Announcement of the Gospel (John the Baptist, Jesus' teaching and career), The Beginnings of the Church (the origin of Christian belief, early growth of the movement, conversion of Paul, the Gentile problem, Jesus in the new faith), The Expansion of the Church (the main period in Paul's work and the development down to 70 A.D.), The Consolidation of the Church (formulations of the new faith, false teaching, moral instruction, Christianity and the state, and society, the Christian hope). It is obvious that the whole story of "the beginning" is included here, from the first preaching of the gospel down to *circ.* 115 A.D.

The story is told simply and clearly, and with constant attention to the religious significance of events and doctrines — not only for the contemporary scene in the first century, but for the present day. Dr. Craig writes as a convinced evangelical Christian, and his pen (or typewriter) never runs away with his conscience as a teacher of the Christian faith. At the same time, there is sound and thorough scholarship on every page. He does not take short cuts, or hide his footprints beneath a smooth dusting of verbiage after stepping adroitly from one path to another going in a different direction — such tricks are not unknown among writers of historical theology! In fact, there is much more scholarship represented on every page than appears on the surface. Some of the plainest statements have undoubtedly required long and unremitting toil, not only in research but in wrestling with facts and their meanings in order to discover what they really have to say, articulately and coherently; so that the result is a consistent whole, a

history rather than a patchwork of interesting but disconnected interpretations. That is what marks off such a book as this from the romantic type of work, the historical novel for example — a type very popular at this present time — which can go its own way entirely regardless of the ancient data and their honest interpretation, and may completely ignore the religious significance not only of the particular data under consideration but also of New Testament Christianity as a whole.

The chapter on the career of Jesus is extremely good, especially the paragraphs dealing with the Messianic question. Jesus "saw his life in some way identified with the coming Son of man." This is a view which states very briefly the conclusion Dr. Craig arrived at in his contribution to the *New Testament Studies* recently edited by Prof. E. P. Booth. There is a fresh, vigorous account of St. Paul — where the author rejects the theory that in the 7th chapter of Romans Paul was describing his own spiritual bankruptcy before his conversion. Instead, "it would be truer to say that he was describing the way the life of an unredeemed man looked to Paul the Christian." Furthermore, "the theory of the law in Romans was formulated to meet later problems in his missionary work." There is not a word in either of these statements that has not been hammered out on the anvil of patient, painstaking research. Personally, I think every word is true, and it would be well if our theologians took into account this sounder view of Paul's theology than the "autobiographical" one now so popular. With it ought to be put two sentences on page 256: "It must never be forgotten that this statement [of Paul's theology in the Epistle to Romans] was by no means a presentation of the whole of Paul's faith. His purpose was to set forth *the relation of the gospel to Judaism.*"

The book is also extremely good in the part dealing with post-Pauline Christianity, the consolidation of the church, where again the brief, summary statements give the boiled-down, hard-sugar results of years of careful research and co-ordination of studies. All in all, *The Beginning of Christianity* is one of the best textbooks on Christian origins that we have. Better still, it is a readable survey which will appeal to many others besides professors and students in seminaries and colleges.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

THE WAR AND THE PREACHER'S CONSCIOUSNESS

REBUILDING OUR WORLD, *Wartime Sermons in the Harvard College Chapel, by* WILLARD L. SPERRY. *Harper & Brothers, $1.75.*

DEAN SPERRY is made deeply anxious by the contemporary fashion of "telling half-truths in such a manner that they misrepresent the whole truth." And in these wise and rich sermons he makes a genuine at-

tempt to tell the whole truth about the matters which he discusses. If the truth is difficult and may be unwelcome to many, he speaks it forth as a true prophet should: "Plainly it has been the weakness of our tradition that we have not been realistic enough in our doctrine of man. With the best will in the world, 'Munich,' and all that the word has come to mean, was a mistaken vote of confidence in bad men, unwarranted by the fact." He speaks with a fine downrightness: "If I had no other reason for believing in Christianity, I should believe in it because the doctrines which oppose and deny it today are so patently suicidal." He sees clearly that the problem of explaining the presence of evil in a world we would like to call good is not nearly so subtly difficult as the explaining of the indubitable presence of good if we are tempted to think the world evil. So he says, "We do well to turn for reassurance to the problem of good." These sermons are the product of a full and ripe culture. The quotations and literary references grow quite naturally out of the nature of the theme and the author's thought — but, free as they are from self-consciousness, they could only come from a rich and satisfying culture. The illustrations are always effective and sometimes are edged with a bright humor.

There is the story of an African explorer engaged in a long, rapid, forced march. One morning his native porters were found squatted on their haunches and refusing to move. Threats and bribes failed to stir them. They told him through an interpreter that their bodies had got too far ahead of their minds, and they now had to wait until their minds caught up with their bodies. Our bodies, our fortunes, and our once normal expectation of life are all involved in the fast-moving event. But we shall never do the job well unless our minds keep up with our bodies.

The war moves in and out of the preacher's consciousness all the while. But he speaks of values good both for days of war and for days of peace. And he speaks of a faith which has secrets for men in every sort of experience. He is quietly confident that the religion of which he speaks is good for mending the broken, for rebuilding that which has been torn down, and for sustaining the spirit of man as he goes about the ways of this strange and moving world.

LYNN HAROLD HOUGH

HUMAN INTEREST IN ARCHAEOLOGY

THE LADDER OF PROGRESS IN PALESTINE. A STORY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL ADVENTURE, *by* CHESTER CHARLTON MCCOWN. *Harper and Brothers, $3.50.*

IN this work Dr. McCown has given us a book that was really needed, and that will be found both enjoyable and useful. If the reviewer is not an entirely impartial judge, having been both personally and officially

associated with the author for some years, he may at least be allowed to say that he is delighted with the book and to tell why. Its purpose, as expressed in the preface, is "to give the intelligent and nontechnical reader some appreciation of how the archaeologist works and what he discovers." Stress is laid on the difficulties and limitations of archaeology as well as its rewards and achievements.

The scope of the work is limited to Palestine. It includes, however, much that is ordinarily omitted or slighted in books on Palestinian archaeology, since they are usually governed by a primary interest in those discoveries which are significant for the study of the Bible. This book gives a full account of the notable work in prehistory, covering millennia before the coming of the Hebrews to Palestine. It also carries the story down into post-Biblical times. The late Roman remains of Gerasa, the Byzantine churches there and elsewhere, the crusaders' castles and Arab mosques are all given their due share of attention. The intervening periods are not neglected, and the whole story is introduced by a chapter on method and concluded by one on what to believe about the results and value of archaeological research. As compared with other books, the volume pays relatively little attention to the Biblical connections and implications of the subject. The index of Biblical citations is very brief, and the subject index is not designed for the particular interests of the Bible student. Naturally, however, there is much of interest and importance, and a good deal of it is not readily accessible elsewhere.

This is a book to read rather than a reference work. The style is easy and leisurely. Anecdotes and frequent touches of human interest and humor enlighten the account. Yet a surprising amount of specific information is given, and it is authoritative and up to date. Readable as it is, the material can by no means be assimilated in one reading. The work is not only an interesting introduction for the general reader; it is also a handy summary for the student. The subtitle and the chapter headings sound the popular note. The notes and the extensive bibliography provide sufficient material to keep a student or a class busy for a long time. The chapters are conveniently broken up by sub headings. Useful chronological tables are given both at the beginning and at appropriate places in the body of the work. Maps of pre-Christian and Christian Palestine are given inside the front and back cover. The illustrations are well selected and magnificently reproduced.

In the course of the presentation and in the final chapter variant views on points of interpretation, chronology, and the like are adequately recognized. There is little discussion of debatable points, but the issues are presented and the author's judgment expressed briefly and modestly. Perhaps the chief value of the book is its assembling and clear presentation of ma-

terials from many and scattered sources in a synthesis showing comprehensive and thorough mastery of the whole subject.

It is a pleasure to be able to recommend the book without reservation.

MILLAR BURROWS

FIVE OUTSTANDING AMERICAN PREACHERS

CHANGING EMPHASES IN AMERICAN PREACHING, *by* ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON. *Westminster Press, $2.00.*

IT IS refreshing to find a book on preaching that employs the historical approach and insists that theology and homiletics are vitally interrelated. In these Stone Lectures given at Princeton, the author describes and evaluates important trends in American preaching in a series of biographical studies of five outstanding men — Horace Bushnell, Henry Ward Beecher, Dwight L. Moody, Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch. In view of Dr. Thompson's thesis that great preaching reflects its own age and stems from an experience of felt need, his choice is a wise one. In explaining his purpose, the author says, "It is a human story that I have tried to tell — the personal experience back of the gospel which is proclaimed." He tells that story well and his modest volume reveals thorough research, a sense of perspective, historical accuracy and a gift of interpretation. Each of the five figures comes alive as a religious leader of his own age with a gospel that emphasizes some neglected aspect of Christian teaching.

The classic definition of preaching by Phillips Brooks as "truth through personality" comes to mind as one reads the book and observes how message and messenger are inseparable. Bushnell is seen as a religious genius, the first great American liberal to insist that a cold intellectualism is not enough but that the heart as well as the head is a true guide in spiritual things. In his *Christian Nurture* Bushnell enters the unexplored field of religious education, and in his *Vicarious Sacrifice* he sets forth the new teaching that it is the moral power of God that reconciles men to himself and to one another. With his gospel of the love of God in Christ, Beecher is revealed as the leader of a growing revolt against the old Calvinistic theology. In the ministry of Moody, revivalism reaches an all-time high. Gladden is a composite photograph of the other four, for his life and labors not only reflect the emphases of his predecessors, but indicate the fresh interest in the emerging social gospel to be brought to full bloom by Rauschenbusch. The last figure stands out bold and clear, the champion of the wronged and oppressed, the prophet of a redeemed world order, the mystic and seer, remembered with affection as St. Walter of Rochester.

The book provokes thought and raises questions in the mind of the reader. For example, the author states that the preaching of any age may become

"distorted and partial" as it proclaims those portions of Christian truth peculiarly relevant to the needs of a particular time. This, undoubtedly, is a danger that the average preacher must recognize and avoid if he would not become a mere weather vane. Great preaching, as we have seen in these studies, has both a timeless and a timely quality. There is a given constant in the Gospel that is needed by every age. Rauschenbusch himself said, "I have always regarded my public work as a form of evangelism." Someone should bring this admirable book down to date by a discussion of the influence on preaching of the rediscovery of the ecumenical church and of the present day interest in the Neo-Orthodoxy. Perhaps, however, we are too close to our own age to interpret it aright. Let us hope the future historian will perform this task as well as has the author in his scholarly and permanent work.

VAUGHAN DABNEY

VARIETY AND UNITY IN PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY

THE VARIETIES OF NEW TESTAMENT RELIGION, *by* ERNEST F. SCOTT. *Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.75.*

TO THIS study of difference and unity in the New Testament Professor Scott has brought the full resources of his seasoned and brilliant scholarship. The result is a clearly written and highly instructive book.

The stress in the discussion is on the striking variety of New Testament religion. In the course of the book, which surveys the entire New Testament and its historical setting, the author distinguishes eight different types: The Primitive Teaching; Hellenistic Christianity; The Religion of Paul; The Rivals of Paul; Apocalyptic Christianity; The Moralists; Western Christianity; and The Johannine Teaching. A discussion of difference and unity in the New Testament precedes the study of these eight strands, and the closing chapter sketches "The Rise of a Common Religion."

Five emphases of the book deserve mention:

1. There was rich *variety* in the New Testament message. While the ethical teaching remained more nearly constant, the doctrinal expression was constantly changing.

2. This variety sprang from the *vitality* of the Christian movement. Professor Scott rejects vigorously and rightly the idea that the church derived its strength from borrowing. Not external forces, but inner resources going back to the Founder, explain the variety and vigor of the church's life.

3. Obviously, then, the Apostolic Age was a time of *liberty* of thought and expression. This fact, in the view of Professor Scott, is important and timely. He closes his preface with the following words:

Liberty is inherent in the Christian faith, and liberty always makes for difference. If the church is ever to be truly united, it must leave men free to differ. It must take its stand on no formal creed but on the New Testament, which lends its sanction impartially to many varieties of thought.

4. Within this variety there was a deep *unity*. In fact, it was only through the free expression of difference that the church could come to a common faith.

5. Such "movement through difference to a common faith" (p. 287) attests the *universality* of Christianity. This was true from the outset. "By its nature Christianity was a universal religion" (p. 60).

In a book which deals in so fresh and suggestive a manner with all phases of New Testament religion, it is inevitable that at times author and reviewer will have to move through difference to a common faith! Some views expressed, such as the one that it was Stephen's teaching which was carried to Rome and made basic there, may not be convincing. Again, the minimizing of doctrine, true up to a point, may be a bit overdone. We have minds; we must think; we have to get some agreement before we can work together.

The book may give some readers the idea that all varieties of early Christian thought were equally justified. Passages on Paul's central message and on the basic Gospel (pp. 91, 107, 120 ff.) correct this tendency, but I would want to qualify the statement that "all parties had been in the right" (p. 287; cf. p. 11). Some parties were wrong in their essential position and the church condemned them. Of the other groups, some, as Professor Scott suggests in his words about Paul, were more right and vital than others.

This book has rightly pointed out differences. The unity still exists, as the author clearly states. Indeed, he points to its ground in the earthly career and ongoing work of Christ. However, New Testament study may well supplement this examination of variety by a closer study of the common faith to which the church in free fellowship found its way.

One attractive feature of the book is that it never loses sight of the modern world. Again and again it points out parallels in our situation. Thus it is not merely a historical study, but also a work provocative of thought about Christian trends today.

FLOYD V. FILSON

THE CASE METHOD OF DEFINING LIBERALISM

THE LEGACY OF THE LIBERAL SPIRIT, *by* FRED G. BRATTON. *Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.75.*

THERE are many who take it for granted that liberalism died three decades ago. There are others who half-heartedly rise to its defense, preferring to perish in a noble but losing cause rather than to run up the

white flag. Mr. Bratton, quite to the contrary, believes that the liberal spirit is vigorously alive and goes forth under its banner as a crusader who has no doubt about his victory over his enemies.

He defines "liberal spirit" as "a way of life which emphasizes the primary importance of the person, the freedom of the individual, free press, free speech, constitutional government, tolerance, the scientific spirit of inquiry, the rational outlook, social reform, popular education, a relativistic philosophy and an ethico-social religion."

The author develops his thesis through a series of short biographical sketches, each pungently and vividly portrayed. He never hesitates to make clear who the heroes and villains are. "In rejecting Origen, Arius and Pelagius and accepting Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine, Christianity turned its back on tolerance, culture and rational thinking and embraced dogmatism, legalism and sacramentalism." His great heroes are Origen, Erasmus, Voltaire, Paine, Parker, Darwin and Dewey. In addition there are many shorter sketches of men of the Renaissance, of the Enlightenment, of New England Unitarianism and nineteenth century criticism. The book becomes contemporaneous as the author attacks the many varieties of Neo-Supernaturalism in our own time.

> Religious authoritarianism has, indeed, assembled some strange bed-fellows. In the writings of Barth, Berdyaev, Belloc, T. S. Eliot, Ralph Adams Cram, Paul Elmer More, Christopher Dawson, Maritain and Peter Oliver lie the seeds of philosophic totalitarianism. These are the enemies of the liberal spirit, for they all agree that man is hopeless and that the only path to a better world is through the intervention of God.

Each of the biographical sketches, while of necessity short, is alive and interesting. The problem of such an attempt is to arrive at a sound principle of selection. This particular roster of heroes is one of rebels and heretics rather than of men of "liberal" mind. One can think of political and social liberals who were more characterized by an open mind than a Copernicus or a Newton or even perhaps a Darwin. To be sure each of these men opened the way for a fundamental revolution in human thought. Copernicus, however, was not an empiricist as the author insists he was; Newton spent the latter part of his life in a futile attempt to resolve Biblical chronological contradictions; Darwin was curiously uninterested in much of the social ferment of his day. Pelagius can hardly be listed as a liberal since his legalism was extreme in its severity.

It is, of course, inevitable that inconsistencies should be discoverable among so many different people. This is an attempt to use the case method to define liberalism. This reviewer hoped for a more critical analysis of the contemporary forces opposed to the liberal spirit. The author is convinced

that Christianity must be understood not in static or quantitative but rather in developmental and qualitative terms. It would be interesting to have had him apply such canons to our own time when so many attempts are being made to define Christianity in terms of the theological expression of a particular era in the past. The *Legacy of the Liberal Spirit* is an interesting book, whose strength is derived from a narrative rather than from a critical temper. It is a healthy and stalwart protagonist for the liberal tradition.

JOHN C. SCHROEDER

HE BECAME A FRIEND

EXILED PILGRIM, *by* WILLIAM HUBBEN, *The Macmillan Company, $2.00.*

WILLIAM HUBBEN has been for the last decade Director of Religious Interests at George School, a leading Friends' school in Pennsylvania, and last fall became editor of the *Friends' Intelligencer*, published in Philadelphia. His background, however, was far removed from the Philadelphia Friends.

In this informal and readable autobiography he describes his early life in Germany and shows us through the medium of his personal experience the social movements and conflicts in which he participated. He begins with his childhood in the Rhineland under the influence of a remarkable peasant grandmother, a devout Catholic untrammeled by orthodoxy. She stirred his imagination by vivid retellings of Biblical narrative and medieval legend in the setting of everyday village life. He learned of the cosmic conflict of good and evil from her war with Grandfather's he-goat, "the very incarnation of nature's wickedness," from contacts with his Dutch Protestant uncle, the smuggler, "a vessel of sin, although he could be very funny," and from his own anguish of guilt when, dared by a Protestant boy, he whistled in church. From the village he went to live with his parents in Krefeld who worked in a necktie factory, and was thrilled by visions of industrial achievement and international trade; but also he became acquainted with the growing unrest of the workers as they found that these things did not lead to more abundant life. He describes the authoritarianism of the schools, combining harsh Prussian discipline with the sense of security in an established and explicit religion.

In the seminary for teachers which he attended in adolescence, one of the boys secured a copy of the *Index Expurgatorius*. "This blacklist, with the choicest titles of famous books, became our Reader's Guide for the next two or three years. Many of us owe a great debt to it" (p. 132). The first World War, in which he was a stretcher-bearer, completed his disillusionment not only with militarism but with official religion, Catholic and Protestant. Afterward he was an enthusiastic Social Democrat, pacifist, and

rebel against religion. He began his teaching career with high hopes of converting a backward mountain village to the Revolution. The village was promptly occupied by British troops, and neither they nor the villagers welcomed his crusade. When transferred to larger towns, he joined the Youth Movement and had contact with the Mennonites.

William Hubben met the Quakers through the child-feeding activities of the American Friends Service Committee.

> Here was a family of Christians who had a faith without a creed, inclusive and not exclusive as creeds used to be. The individual, whether alien or criminal, high or low, strong or weak, is endowed with a divine element, an Inner Light . . . neither priest, minister or sacrament is needed as a mediator. . . . A waiting silence was to be the medium of worship (p. 209).
>
> Service . . . was considered a natural outflow from brotherly love between men, and internal change was all that mattered (p. 212).

His conversion led to participation in the German Quaker movement and international conferences, which made him suspect to the school authorities though he never ran into serious trouble. In Magdeburg, the center of the Krupp steel industry, he became principal of a nondenominational school founded by the Republican government, a center of atheism and the radical labor movement. Though he organized discussions of religion and conducted goodwill study tours through France, he could make no headway against the hatred of religion or against the drift of the teachers into the Nazi party. When Hitler came to power, William Hubben lost his position and moved with his family to America.

This book is a delightfully written personal history by one who loves and understands human beings. It is also a graphic sketch of the development of trends in Germany — not only those of which we are all too well aware, but those driven underground and into exile which should not be forgotten.

ERMINIE HUNTRESS

IF I MAKE MY BED IN HELL

BURMA DIARY, *by* PAUL GEREN, *Harper and Brothers, 50 cents.*

THIS little volume is by a missionary professor of economics in Rangoon, who was doing ambulance service in Burma and was caught in the fearful retreat of General Stilwell's forces following the Japanese invasion. Its less than three score pages record the author's reactions to this ordeal in a style which recalls to the reviewer the quality of Saint Exupéry's *Wind, Sand and Stars.* Anyone who starts the book will be constrained to finish it in one sitting.

The diary is not centered on the author's experiences but rather on the

reflections those experiences suggest. When life is ugliest he finds he most wants to live. He notes how even in the worst conditions "men's spirits set about with all their ingenious resources to make a world of tenderness and love." He ponders on what it is to give an actual cup of water in the name of Christ, and in this to find a new relevance in the New Testament. He knows how difficult it is for anyone "to pull the covers of a virtue high enough to keep the head warm without leaving the feet uncovered."

On the matter of race the diary says that Negroes, Indians and Chinese want to be treated as men; "to receive the acts of kindness and love which white men accord to one another — that is what they want." He found himself wistfully desiring to be numbered with those of the dark skin; "I wanted to get off the side of the sinning and onto the side of the sinned against." In the dreadful trek from Burma to India there was evidence that "wherever there are human spirits with the power of hoping, longing, clinging, loving, helping, no engagement is a total defeat."

Burma Diary can be slipped into a pocket; and anyone who takes it along for easy reading will feel like thanking the publishers for issuing this complete and unabridged record of mingled reflection and description.

DANIEL J. FLEMING

A NEW EVANGELISM

CHOOSE YE THIS DAY, *by* ELMER G. HOMRIGHAUSEN. *Westminster Press, $1.50.*

IT IS a self-evident truth that the church has not been reaching this generation with the Gospel of Jesus Christ in such a way that men are gripped by its appeal. This fact is indicated not only by our failure to win more than half of our American population to membership in any church and by the rise of militant anti-Christian movements in lands once accounted Christian, but by the apparent lack of any vital religious experience on the part of multitudes who are nominal church members. It is to this situation that Dr. Homrighausen addresses himself in his latest book, which is a clarion call to a new spirit of evangelism.

Although the theme of the volume is familiar enough, there is nothing trite or commonplace about the way in which the distinguished Professor of Christian Education in Princeton Theological Seminary, who is now Chairman of the Department of Evangelism of the Federal Council of Churches, has presented his message. Indeed, the comparatively brief compass of the book is misleading, for the author has so condensed his material that almost every one of the 152 pages calls for careful consideration, and one could wish that many of the statements and suggestions made concerning various aspects of the Church's life and work had been developed at greater length.

In stressing the necessity for a new effort to win men to Christian faith and life, Dr. Homrighausen makes it perfectly clear that he is not pleading for the type of revivalism which has often been a source of embarrassment to the cause, nor, indeed, for any particular method of evangelism. On the contrary, he urges the necessity for a new spirit which shall pervade every sphere of the Church's activity and give direction to all of her efforts. His work is in reality a closely-reasoned philosophy of evangelism, in which he takes full account of modern psychology and sociology as well as of the significant movements in contemporary theology. The primary and basic task of the church, as he describes it, is to win men to decision for and commitment to Jesus Christ, and the spiritual crisis of our times affords a supreme opportunity for Christians. Man's very sense of frustration, nihilism, and futility affords our natural point of contact, but the church must know the reality whereof she speaks. Upon the basis of a reasoned and intelligent, but heartfelt conviction, and in reliance upon the Spirit she must declare the Word of God, bring men to face the reality and the consequences of sin, and preach the redeeming power of Christ.

The "Social Gospel," Dr. Homrighausen holds, can never be a substitute for evangelism — though no evangelism can be complete if it does not affect man in social and community relationships as well as in his individual life. Christian education is worthy of its name only if it accepts the Christian assumptions regarding redemption and if it leads to definite decisions for Jesus Christ. The proclamation of the Gospel is to be a matter of central importance in worship so that "every service of worship will become charged with the decisiveness of God's Word, and thereby keep vitally alive the evangelistic tone of the church's life and work. Evangelism with a view to decision and commitment will be at the heart of the church, and not be regarded as a sporadic effort now and then to increase the membership."

Few readers of the book will agree with every position taken by its author, but no thoughtful reader will be able to escape the force of his argument as a whole. Its timeliness is unmistakeable and its message one which the church will ignore only at the peril of her own soul.

J. McDowell Richards

YUGOSLAVIAN TENSIONS

My Native Land *by* Louis Adamic. *Harper & Brothers, $3.75.*

IN view of the increasing importance of the Balkan countries to developing Allied military strategy, and in view of the place which Yugoslavia is now occupying as the center of organized Balkan resistance to the *Wehrmacht*, Mr. Adamic's latest book is especially timely. It comes at a time

when (judging from column-inches in the *New York Times*) a very real effort is being made to disabuse American public opinion of the notion that Mikhailovich is "our man" in Yugoslavia. But whereas most newspaper stories suggest that Marshal Tito is now more "our man" than General Mikhailovich on the basis that he and the Partisans are disposing of more Germans, Mr. Adamic marshals evidence to prove not only that the "Mikhailovich legend" was a ghastly mistake from the very beginning, but that the General was, and is, more "their man" than ours. The General, infected by the pan-Serbian virus of the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile, has been disposing of Partisans in a civil war, while the latter have been killing off Germans in a world war.

Why the civil strife? The author rejects entirely the idea which the Axis has capitalized on — that it is because Serbs and Croats are congenital enemies. Basically, the pattern is a simple one:

> Two old and opposing motives were coming to grips in Yugoslavia within the rigid chaos of occupation. One, exploiting and deepening that chaos, was out to destroy what unity the Serbian, Crotian and Slovenian peoples had attained in the face of all the drawbacks in the two decades between World War I and II; the other was welding that unity more firmly in spite of and through what had been happening, so that the future could be built upon it.
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> The first motive got its dynamic from Hitler and his gauleiters and quislings, from the native chauvinists in Croatia and Serbia, from the Greater-Serbian clique in the Yugoslav government in London. . . .
>
> The second motive got its dynamic from the most active and politically healthiest element of the Yugoslav peoples.
>
> This did not mean that everybody in the first group was pure villain, nor that there were no objectionable people and secondary motives in the second. But in the basic pattern of division, the Partisans and Russia were with the second motive, while Mikhailovich, the British agents and the chauvinists belonged to the first.

Mr. Adamic's account of the official policies of Britain and the United States vis-a-vis Yugoslavia up until 1943 makes sorry reading in the light of their democratic pretensions. The story smells of reactionary politics and Rumanian oil. That it smells somewhat sweeter now, thanks to Mr. Stalin, chief fumigator, is encouraging.

The book is a compound of thumbnail biographies of Yugoslav patriots and traitors; ancient history; war-reporting, second-hand but unquestionably authentic; and political philosophy. Through it all blows the warm breath of sympathy for the tortuous struggle of a people who love liberty more than life. As a guide to an understanding of contemporary events in Yugoslavia, *My Native Land* is a richly rewarding book.

BRADFORD S. ABERNETHY

THE FATE OF SUCCESSFUL REBELS

THE PROBLEM OF PAIN, *by* C. S. LEWIS. *The Macmillan Co., $1.50.*

THE author of *The Screwtape Letters* reveals in this book the fact that he was not entirely joking when he spoke for the Devil; for it appears that he really believes in one.

Indeed, it is only on such an assumption that he can explain animal pain. Not that animals suffer, for that would imply enough grasp of the time-stream to be conscious of the changes taking place in oneself. But the appearance of evil in the world before the arrival of the human species requires, he thinks, that we posit the existence of a "Lord of this world" already active.

The book opens on the familiar notes of a good and all-powerful God granting freedom to his creatures and then laboring to purify them that they may be worthy of his love. Thus some of the suffering is disciplinary. But man, having been placed in control of the world, turned in rebellion against God and lost control of the world which now thwarts his efforts and presents him with physical evils in proportion to man's refusal to accept the divine will. Consequently, since man has spoiled himself, good must be primarily remedial and corrective good.

Pain appears from two quarters: men inflict it on one another through misuse of their God-given power, and men seek to live in an unreal world where they have not surrendered themselves to God. Here the author strikes a Calvinistic note: the bad men suffer, and since we are all bad we all suffer, for all good action goes against our inclinations and gives pain. This in turn forces man back on the divine strength, and thus through pain man is brought to God. Mr. Lewis treads rather too lightly over the thorny ground of vicarious suffering, remarking that he has seen people exhibit great patience and meekness under such suffering.

But he admits that suffering is not good in itself; it is good only because of the submission to God and the compassion and mercy which it engenders. As a necessary element in redemption, pain will last as long as the world is unredeemed. Yet beyond this life is Hell. Yes, this Oxford don really believes in it unashamedly, though he detests it. And he does not soften the doctrine with any subjective theories. Hell is "retributive punishment inflicted by God." It consists in the removal of a soul through egoism from all contact with aught else than itself; and this leaves it in "outer darkness." The soul that was ceases to be. Therefore there must be a state of "having been a soul" and this is hell, in contrast with heaven where you "become more human than you ever succeeded in being in earth." The damned are "successful rebels to the end. . . . They enjoy forever the horrible freedom they have demanded, and are therefore self-enslaved." To object to the doc-

trine of hell is to ask God to wipe out the sins that he has already removed on Calvary, or to forgive when these souls will not meet the conditions of forgiveness. All he can do is to leave them alone. And these of whom the author speaks, he reminds us, are you and me.

The book is written with vigor and clarity. The argument is illuminated with vivid analogies, and studded with pregnant sentences; and there is iron in it. And yet there is one question that keeps insinuating itself in this reviewer's mind: Is there not here more of the Greek theory of retribution than of the Christian teaching about a God whose love is not measured by the worth of those he loves? Or, if God purifies those whom he loves, as Lewis suggests, why should not hell also be simply purgatory? No one will glibly reassure men after reading this book that God will surely save them in the end, or that man can ever in this life rise above anguish and tribulation.

EDWIN E. AUBREY

CASE WORK TO RELIGION *VIA* MENTAL HEALTH

BRINGING UP OURSELVES, *by* HELEN G. HOGUE. *Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.50.*

A GOOD part of social work, and especially of case work, has been a child of the church, but a child whose adolescent growth was so lusty that mother was kicked in the face rather harder than usual. When social work reached the beginning of its maturity a few years ago, there were signs that an adult-to-adult kind of parent-child relationship was developing. Social workers and clergy were able to discuss their professional co-operation, and social work readily conceded that religion was a good thing — for most people. Consideration of whether or not it was a good thing, and a true thing, for social workers was postponed until a further stage of maturity.

If this excellent little book by Helen G. Hogue is a sample, then social work has reached an additional, and to the church a very important, stage of maturity. For, without tempering in any way the basic findings of natural science (social work, psychology, psychiatry, mental hygiene, etc.) concerning human personality, she finds here that without the religion of Christ they add up to inadequacy.

Her book is designed as a semi-popular "approach to sound psychological preparation for healthy living in a democracy." Apart for its section on religion, it is a good though simplified exposition of the basic principles of human personality and relationships as these have emerged from mental hygiene and social case work.

Here are a few of the main points: "Warped personalities can defeat fine principles" and "healthy principles find expression only through healthy personalities." Our primary task in mental health is to aid people to find

more insight, for so many personality distortions are unnecessary. Such distortions as hatred do not spring out of some instinct, but are the result of lack of being loved and being taught to love. "There is no reason why the simple principles of mental health cannot be learned by young people just as they learn of physical health." We are bound to have tensions, but they "may be resolved creatively if we are sufficiently aware of them and turn our minds to the problem." All this is good mental health teaching.

When it comes to religion, Mrs. Hogue properly points out that our basic pattern in religion generally follows our pattern in handling our emotional life: "We act toward God with the same pattern of behavior with which we have learned to act toward all our environment." With equal validity, she suggests the deep harm that may come when those who speak in the name of religion do not "have love in their souls."

But she is more than evaluative. "No matter how creatively we resolve emotional tensions, through work or play, artistic achievement or human relationships, these are not enough." Only so long as the door to God is open is there "hope and stimulation for new growth, new development, new adventure." Today the religion of force is arrayed against the religion of freedom and persuasion, as the author sees it. "But when this holocaust of war is over and man has spent himself, it will be the majestic figure of Jesus of Nazareth who marches and says again — 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do.' "

SEWARD HILTNER

NEW LIVES OF CHRIST

THE ONE STORY: THE LIFE OF CHRIST, ARRANGED FROM THE FOUR GOSPELS, *by* MANUEL KOMROFF. *E. P. Dutton and Company, $2.50.*

A PORTRAIT OF JESUS, A TWENTIETH CENTURY INTERPRETATION OF CHRIST, *by* SHERWOOD EDDY. *Harper & Brothers, $2.00.*

MANUEL KOMROFF, best known for such historical novels as *Coronet* and *Waterloo* is, contrary to the usual impression, a native New Yorker. His interest in religious themes is evidenced by his editing of the Apocrypha and his novel, *The Two Thieves*, dealing with the crucifixion. In *The One Story* he gives us an interweaving of the Four Gospels. The history of such arrangements of the Gospels is an ancient one, going back to the Diatesseron of Tatian in the second century. In modern times they have been produced in considerable numbers, partly in answer to a demand for the life of Christ in non-ecclesiastical form. Mr. Komroff has made it his aim to include all the "events" of the gospels, and certainly most of the teaching, and in such a way as not to include a single word not in the King James Version. A Bible student is likely to turn to the resurrection narratives to see how this difficult test is passed, and we note here that the episode

of Jesus' appearance to Mary Magdalene is passed over. Tatian's arrangement began with the prologue to the Fourth Gospel, which is absent here. Komroff gives us two cleansings of the temple, and two triumphal entries on successive days. Yet we have here, all in all, a skillful arrangement and good type for those that like this form of the gospel story. The appendix gives an index of the readings but there is no Scripture index, though references accompany the sections chosen. The titles to these sections do not cover all the material presented under them. Nothing is added to the text by way of introduction or notes.

Of course such a harmonization eclipses the unique features and impact of the separate gospels. We suggest that Christians begin to discourage the publication of the gospels in this form. And we recall the fact, for those who have ears to hear, that the great Bible societies have made it a rule from the beginning never to profit by a single penny from the publication of the Scriptures or any part of them. However, if we were to raise questions as to the sale of the Bible in the Authorized Version *with*, not to say *for*, profit, it might lead us far. Let us suppose that those who have done so have given the proceeds to charitable causes or used them for the distribution of Christian literature.

Sherwood Eddy tells the reader frankly that he writes his *Portrait of Jesus* to widen the circle of those who share the experience of God mediated by Christ in this time of desperate human need. He proposes to combine a scholarly reconstruction of the historical life with an interpretation of faith that can speak to the twentieth century. With these aims in view, and with Schweitzer's famous sentence, "He comes to us as One unknown . . . ," at the masthead, the synoptic story is retold with a running comment of criticism and interpretation. The usual issues appear as to Jesus' life and outlook. Schweitzer's interim ethics are rejected, though it is recognized that Jesus probably expected the immediate end of things. Miracles are discussed with the aid of Alan Richardson's book, but there is a little indecision here. They were "not necessarily a breach of the natural order . . . perhaps a manifestation of a higher order." The opposition of Jesus to all "legalism" is put very strongly. Here is one point where the "conscience" of modern scholarship is not followed. Indeed, Dr. Eddy cites the Markan phrase "thus making all meats clean," as though it could be taken at face value. The author then goes on to present the Pauline and the Johannine interpretations of Christ and the gospel, and closes with a forcible "twentieth century portrait" by way of summary and challenge.

The reader of this summary will perhaps already have noted that, on specific issues of the life of Christ, Dr. Eddy is not as strict with himself as he planned to be. Despite his readiness to consult the new criticism, he ends up with a picture very much like that of Mark. It needs proving to claim

that Jesus saw himself as all three: Messiah, Son of Man, Servant. As a matter of fact, we cannot help exclaiming a little when we note the plan to present the results of about two hundred books for the student. For the best books on Christ often take opposite views on important issues. This harmonizing tendency in many liberal lives of Christ makes them all somewhat alike and somewhat unconvincing. The best historical lives of Christ have a powerful vision of some one principle of interpretation and follow it out ruthlessly.

Yet in his last chapter we find here what Sherwood Eddy's devoted years of discipleship could have guaranteed to us: telling insights and real eloquence. We cannot believe that many of the unconverted will recognize the force of some of the arguments. It is not enough to say that if Christ died on the cross never to rise, the world makes nonsense, for we should not and cannot believe just because we want to. Nor does the wide extension of Christianity or the immense sale of the Bible convince the unconverted, nor the fact of the Christian calendar. But the total picture of Christ here as one who searches the conscience and who in his strange career presents enormous questions to the soul, — that is strongly set forth and makes the book an impressive work.

AMOS N. WILDER

FATE TRICKS A TRICKSTER INTO FAME

LONELY MIDAS: THE STORY OF STEPHEN GIRARD, *by* HARRY EMERSON WILDES, *Farrar and Rinehart, $3.50.*

A MAN'S fame consists more in what he leaves than in what he does. This is fantastically true of Stephen Girard, though what he left was but a will, marking him as the richest American.

And the will was a monument of thwarted will. It was all ironic Fate left him. Through life he had outwitted contemporaries, competitors, governments. Then Fate laughed him into benevolence. And we have the rare delight of applauding its consummate skill, of chuckling at its justice.

The characteristic, which binds the episodes of Mr. Wildes' hero into a life, is canniness. Now canniness, when carried to uncanny extremes, produceth contempt for one's fellows, poor prisoners of morality and dupes of diversions; and contempt, when implemented by "unrelenting toil" and justified by success, bringeth forth loneliness. If one needs assurance of this sequence of morals, here is this book.

Stephen Girard was born on the coast of France of an unlovely and incompetent family. It endowed him with a low opinion of humankind. That opinion was not raised by the women who were annexed to the clan; his mother, his sister-in-law, his wife were all led to the altar by the halter of lewd compulsion. His opinion was confirmed by his experiences at sea;

his fellow-seamen were debauched by drink, women and sloth. And he, shrewd paragon, loved work and the money it brought, the one reward his unimaginative eyes could see. This book is a record of his uninterrupted and uninhibited work among his stupid fellows — at sea, in the West Indies, in fifty prosperous and friendless years in Philadelphia, ending in the will, by which, in his own despite, he established Girard College, still the largest boarding school of our land.

For Girard College was our hero's last resort. A primitive clansman, albeit with reluctant contempt, he was affixed to his clan. What he longed for was a male heir, if not of his mad wife's womb, then of his stock. But its males kept dying and the males drawn in by the females were incompetent to administer his vast affairs. One by one they were tested, occasionally forgiven, dropped. Apprentices, offspring of his business stock, were equally inept. All that was left him was humankind. In Keats' phrase, "since none was near to love, he loved the shadow of his own soul," the poor unlovely ill-fated, lonely ones from which he started.

The will, which may be said to have incorporated Stephen Girard as well as Girard College, was notable for two exclusions. The College was to be surrounded by a wall ten feet high topped by iron spikes — to keep the world out, and was to be barred to all ministers of religion — to keep the other world out. Mr. Wildes, whose carefully documented, humorously detached and curiously detailed work entitles him to an authoritative opinion, declares that the latter exclusion was due not to animosity to religion but to dislike for religious controversy. But why should not a man, who despised law as an impertinence and thwarted it by fictitious sales, false manifests and shameless bribes, who regarded the medical profession as an army of quacks — and almost proved it by his stubborn bravery in the yellow-fever epidemics — why should not such a man include in his wide scorn the members of that third profession which deprecated love of money and set bounds to its freedom?

However that be, the flowering of Girard College from Stephen Girard is a fine example of Fate's cunning contrivances for using the ignominious wrath of man to further its own designs.

AMBROSE WHITE VERNON

AN ENIGMA WITH A SOUL

THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA, AN INTERPRETATION, *by* WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN. *Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.75.*

SOUL OF RUSSIA, *by* HELEN ISWOLSKY. *Sheed & Ward, $2.75.*

SINCE the Soviet Union is playing an enormous role in the present gigantic struggle, and will undoubtedly exert a most powerful influence in the post-war world, it behooves all intelligent men to know it. But in

general, Russia is a *terra incognita*, and its history largely unknown — the whole subject a "Russian enigma." The author sets himself the task of interpreting the enigma. This he does with remarkable fairness, avoiding the grossly biased attitude formerly prevailing which could see nothing good in Russia, as well as the uncritical, adulatory position adopted by many since the Russian armies have scored great victories against the common foe. Competently informed, possessing adequate linguistic equipment for the task, he displays the fair, although critical, spirit of a historian who is concerned primarily with the accuracy and truth of his treatment, rather than the momentary political effect it may have.

In this spirit, Mr. Chamberlin gives the reader a rapid survey of Russia's past history, — one almost too sketchy to be adequate for a thorough acquaintance with the subject. This preliminary part is perhaps no more than in introduction to the main theme of the book, which is an account of the great Russian Revolution and its aftermath. The author depicts vividly the astounding change which has taken place in the Soviet Union since 1917: from internationalism to nationalism, from communistic economy to state socialism or capitalism (including a differentiated scale of pay for various grades of work which almost approach that of capitalistic countries), and from militant atheism to toleration of religion. "The proletarian revolutionary note has simply dropped out of the Soviet propaganda chorus. War appeals are on a straight nationalist basis and carry the implication that there is no more virtue in being a proletarian (i.e., a manual worker) than in being a teacher or doctor or engineer and probably less than in being a Red Army officer" (p. 271). Change, characteristic of all else, has overtaken the Red Army also, where the officer is now strictly set apart from the common soldier, and the rigid discipline common to army life elsewhere is maintained — a radical departure from the equalitarian notions prevailing in the early days of the Red Army.

The author's judicious spirit as well as sober realism is particularly well expressed in the summary, in which he exhorts America to avoid extremes in its attitudes toward the Soviet Union: a doctrinaire repudiation of everything Russian, a refusal to co-operate in "any programme that would seem designed to implement the reasonable and humane war aims," and on the other hand, the uncritical acceptance of everything Russian. "We should not surrender or compromise with our fundamental ideals of individual liberty and humanity. . . ." "It is not for us to dictate Russia's institutions, any more than we should tolerate Russian attempt to impose its own form of government on us."

It is this sane and competent interpretation of "the Russian enigma" which cannot but help many Americans to see things whole and see them straight.

There has existed for a long time a crying need for an exposition of the teachings of that remarkable school of Russian thinkers who have made a contribution to modern theological thinking of which any country might well be proud. Beginning with Kireyevsky and Khomyakov, this group of religious philosophers is represented in our day by such able thinkers as Bulgakov and Berdyaev. Although Miss Iswolsky's treatment is all too brief, nevertheless her thorough knowledge of the subject and insight into the religious values represented in it make her study highly commendable. It is devoutly to be hoped that a more exhaustive study of this theme will soon make its appearance.

Although the greater part of the book is devoted to this modern movement which had its inception in the forties of the nineteenth century, the author attempts to give a brief characterization of the entire religious history of Russia. This, too, is done in a competent manner, particularly if the needs of the general reader are primarily considered. But a scholar would find it less satisfactory. In the very beginning, the author prefers, for reasons which are not clear, the legendary account of the conversion of Russia, although a critical, historical treatment of the subject was available to her in the monumental work of Y. Y. Golubinsky, which she lists in her bibliography. The dates are not always accurate, as when she speaks of the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders as occurring in the twelfth century (p. 30); the Great Schism as of 1058 (p. 3); and the election of Michael Romanov as 1612 (p. 37). Her spelling of Vladimir as "Wladimir" is inexplicable considering that the author is a Russian, and the "Guepeou" for GPU is likewise mystifying at first sight. Nevertheless, these are details which detract but little from the real worth of the book.

MATTHEW SPINKA

MEDICAL MISSIONS TO THE FORE

DR. RUDOLPH BOLLING TEUSLER — AN ADVENTURE IN CHRISTIANITY, *by* HOWARD CHANDLER ROBBINS *and* GEORGE K. MACNAUGHT, *with a preface by* JOSEPH C. GREW, *former United States Ambassador at Tokyo. Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.00.*

PUBLISHERS of books are recently finding valuable material in the lives and activities of the men who work with the thermometer and the lancet, and who build highways of the spirit across the desert and through the jungle. The year 1943 did much to make medical missions known. At least four significant books appeared during the year which turned attention in this direction. One of these books is reviewed here.

Dr. Teusler's life is the record of a courageous spirit, a Christian imperialist, eager for human adventure and blessed with insight into the needs of an Oriental people. Dr. Teusler went to Japan as a medical missionary under

the Protestant Episcopal Church, arriving in Tokyo in January 1900. Before long he had built up a little hospital with sixty-five beds and eight additional private rooms; the entire outlay was but $12,000. In these simple quarters he went forward, keeping always before him that beckoning call: "Build a Christian International Hospital! Get the citizens of Tokyo to help with the needed funds! See to it that Japan discovers the need of trained nursing!"

Every time I visited St. Luke's in Tokyo, I noted what emphasis Teusler laid on having the staff meet for worship apart from the noise and bustle of the wards. He insisted that trained people should be available to give quiet bedside meditations and to bring the Christian message to patients. A Japanese inscription hung in the waiting room of this early building: "The work of the hospital is to the glory of God and the spread of Christ's kingdom among men."

After recognition of his work came to him, especially after receiving a document from the Emperor which noted the growth and development of St. Luke's Hospital and promised a present in recognition of its work amongst the poor and afflicted, Teusler determined to go ahead and work for the creation of St. Luke's International Centre. He entered into many phases of the life of Tokyo, but his great opportunity came with the earthquake of September 1, 1923. Very soon after that disaster, Dr. Teusler returned from the United States with large quantities of Red Cross material, secured Government permission to go ahead with his relief program, and then bent himself to the building up of plans for the new institution. The corner stone was laid March 28, 1930, and on June 4, 1933, the great new building was commissioned for service. Throughout his years in Japan, perhaps the greatest service rendered by Dr. Teusler was the building up of a college of nurse education — the first in Japan.

Above all, this great centre served as a link between the Christian life of America and the Christian life of Japan. It is something that wars cannot wreck. Teusler's monument, built in the hearts of men, is imperishable.

"He was a dreamer who had an eerie way of bringing his dreams into the realm of reality" (p. 58). The keynotes of his life in Japan are easy to discover:

> I have spent the afternoon interviewing some young doctors who have been recommended to me as possible recruits for our work, and one of the first questions which every one of them asked me was, "What is there in it for me?" I told them that if that was what they were looking for I didn't want them. There is no place in our work for any man who is looking to see what he can get out of it for himself" (p. 59). "If the Church means business it can send out forces adequate to attain its objectives without forfeiting a single parish house or four-manual organ. . . . Giving large gifts does not hurt; it is giving less than we can that hurts us" (p. 162).

Bishop McKim wrote of Teusler, "I marveled at the faith and indomitable courage with which he met all opposition and discouragement."

When we enter the post-war period, there is no reason to doubt that his great centre of medical work, conceived and established in behalf of the extension of the Kingdom of God, will become the concern and responsibility of the Church of Christ in Japan.

EDWARD H. HUME

WHAT IS WAR DOING TO US?

AMERICAN SOCIETY IN WAR TIME, *edited by* WILLIAM F. OGBURN. *The University of Chicago Press, $2.50.*

THIS compact survey of the American social scene by members of the sociological faculty of the University of Chicago compasses such major topics as population, the family, the urban and rural community, the soldier, the citizen, racial tensions (an entire chapter being devoted to the redistribution and assimilation of Japanese Americans), crime, and morale. All the topics are treated by competent specialists who base their findings on a varied array of facts.

The book is limited by the date of its composition (1942). Subsequent events have crowded fast. Nevertheless, the subtler and more profound effects of the war which it seeks to interpret were already clearly discernible, and in the main, only the external and superficial aspects have been changed with the daily news. The general effect of these studies is somewhat to diminish the impression of the war as a total cataclysm. The First World War, as Dr. Ogburn shows, increased the death rate in the United States by only six percent. It was the concurrent epidemic — not necessarily caused by war — which made the rate for the war years much higher. For the world as a whole, forty million deaths would have normally occurred; the war raised it to fifty million. Similar considerations make applicable to many fields the conclusion of the first chapter: "the result of such measurements is to reduce somewhat the exaggerated impressions of the effects of war on population changes" (p. 15).

The analyses of changes in the family reaches the parallel conclusion that one should "always be on guard against the common-sense fallacy of assuming that a given reversal of a trend, due to temporary war-time changes, is indicative of a permanent change." It is the acceleration of previous tendencies toward family instability which constitutes the war emergency in this field, rather than in its setting up of new tendencies. Similar conclusions are reached with respect to crime.

People eager to do their part in winning the war and arranging the peace, will find the book somewhat disconcertingly professorial and detached.

Perhaps they are all the more in need of heeding its analyses as furnishing a counterweight to their partially informed zeal. The book's main conclusion is that, while global war is vast and its immediate consequences acute, human life and society are vaster and retain a certain balance and capacity to keep a measured course.

HARLAN PAUL DOUGLASS

OTHER REVIEWS

LIVE, LOVE AND LEARN, *by* JOSEPH FORT NEWTON. *Harper & Brothers, $2.00.*
GOD WILL HELP YOU, *by* JAMES GORDON GILKEY. *The Macmillan Co., $1.50.*

JOSEPH FORT NEWTON has been a distinguished preacher in London and Philadelphia, climaxing effective ministries in lesser American cities. But for every hundred of hearers in any of these great pulpits, he has a thousand readers of his syndicated newspaper articles. These have been brought out in successive volumes. The present one, the third of the series, consists of about 200 space-written bits of religious counsel and encouragement, each tailored to fit a page-length. They are marked by genial temper which could scarcely be congenial to Karl Barth. They do not create anything new under the sun but most of the old human topics are sooner or later treated, if not with myriad-mindedness, at least with ripe wisdom and unflagging optimism. The reader irked by the miscellaneity of these scattered fragments as brought together in a book, may find a certain unity of occasion in the some thirty characteristic vignettes of observations based on Dr. Newton's recent airplane trip to England. Beyond this one is entitled to dip here and there and please one's self in the selection. The present reviewer was especially intrigued by the prayer for humor and the praise for detective stories as a means of grace for clergymen.

If Dr. Newton's book is addressed to human needs in their infinite variety without much directness of aim, Dr. Gilkey's is precisely directed to the acute necessities of souls under war tension. He writes simply yet with obvious regard to cultured minds as exemplified in the student groups with which he has long been popular. The topics reveal the focus and applicability of his message: God is really here; God knows your name; God has a plan for your career; God answers prayer; God takes care of you; God is stronger than death. Dr. Gilkey's treatment throughout is profoundly realistic. He was moved by Captain Rickenbacker's tale of the sea gull which was captured and eaten by the starving aviators adrift on a life raft in the middle of the Pacific. He, therefore, sets himself to think out an answer to the query, "In what sense was the coming of the gull an answer to prayer?" Other chapters are derived from equally vivid contemporary issues to which the writer brings specific religious answers as well as the

generalized answer of faith. Both the Newton and Gilkey books are inherently "liberal." They lack the sense of cosmic tragedy which so distinctly marks what many regard the profounder religious mood of today.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 5704. *Volume 45. Edited for the* AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE *by* HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN, *editor, and* MORRIS T. FINE, *assistant editor. The Jewish Publication Society of America, $3.00.*

THE forty-fifth issue of this notable reference book points again to the momentous character of world-Israel. The Jews as a perennial minority group scattered throughout the world stand in crucial relations with their environments at every point and on almost every issue. This is eloquently reflected by the most factual parts of the annals as presented in the Year Book. The internal divisions into theological and political parties and conflict over Zionism, contrast with the united effort to combat anti-Semitism. The Christian reader will note with some satisfaction the repeated recognition, from all parts of the world, of Christian sympathy and support for Jewish sufferers from persecution. He will also be impelled to realize how jar from "settled" is any aspect of the Jewish problem anywhere. This constitutes a challenge to the ecumenical idea which must increasingly stress the continuity of Christian faith with that of the older Israel as falling within a single revelation, and must persevere in the effort to find a unity of some sort with the corporate Judaism of today, with which the church is being identified in the common experience of persecution in so many parts of the world.

As a work of reference, the Year Book is inherently not reviewable. Its contents are encyclopedic and authoritative on every aspect of Jewish life.

WHAT MEN LIVE BY, *by* LEO TOLSTOY. *Panthean Books, Inc., $2.50.*

THIS is a distinguished book in its typography and illustrations. The introduction by Dorothy Canfield Fisher is a fine interpretation of these great stories of "what love can do for human beings." They are most timely in a day when America is trying to understand Russia and Russia is perhaps no less trying to understand herself. That both might return to Tolstoy would be an earnest of happier attitudes for both nations.

THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE, *translated by* F. J. SHEED. *Sheed & Ward, $3.00.*

THE publishers have given us a fine piece of book-making in the present edition of the famous Confessions, which one may well love for their form apart from their matter, but in which all the famous passages stand out in their own transcendent right with inexhausted power. The translation is unaffected, not flagrantly "modern," and without special novelty except in the use of pronouns "You" and "Yours" in St. Augustine's reflections

about God, while "Thou" is reserved for direct address of God in prayer — a distinction not entirely easy to observe.

A Collection of Prayers *from the Ancient Armenian Book of Office and Divine Liturgy, compiled and translated by* Terenig Poladian. *Delphic Press.*

THIS little book is the first translation into English of the Liturgy of an ancient and suffering church. Armenian and English texts stand side by side so that the book may be a manual of practical devotion both for older immigrants and younger English-speaking adherents to this branch of the Eastern Orthodox faith. Other Christians may well find the book precious both for the charming naïveté of its piety and for the vast and moving dignity of such parts as the Great Processional Liturgy for the blessing of the four corners of the earth.

WORLD CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER
THE AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL COMMITTEE

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

HISTORICAL PREFACE

By REV. GEORGE W. RICHARDS, D.D.

President Emeritus of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., and Chairman of the Committee

I

THE Ecumenical Movement, in its present form, began with the Conference on Foreign Missions in Edinburgh in 1910. In the same year the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, through its General Convention, issued an invitation to the American Churches to elect representatives who were to constitute an ecclesiastical commission to prepare for, and, at an appropriate time, to convene an ecumenical conference to consider the Faith and Order of the Churches. About the same time Archbishop Söderblom of Sweden led the movement toward a similar conference on Life and Work. The result of these proposals is now a matter of history in the Minutes and the Reports of Stockholm, 1925, of Lausanne, 1927, of Oxford and of Edinburgh, 1937.

In 1922 the Committee charged with the task of preparing for the Stockholm Conference wrote to the Committee on the Lausanne Conference that "the aim of Stockholm was to see Christians act corporately, as if they were one body in a visible community," for "this can be done by all equally without calling theological principles into question." In the interim from 1925 to 1937 it dawned upon the leaders of the Churches that before the different communions could work together consistently and harmoniously, as far as urgent practical issues in all lands were concerned, they had to face the question of Faith and Order and seek a better understanding especially in regard to the Church, its nature and function. For Life and Work and Faith and Order are organically and inseparably related.

The primary problem, which gradually emerged from the preparatory studies and from the discussion and reports of the Conference in 1937, was the true conception of the nature of the Church itself — its faith, and its mission in the world. "What we have discovered," writes Visser 't Hooft, "is that we do not yet know fully what the Church is and that we must try to learn anew what is its nature and function." The President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America announced that men came *to*

Oxford and Edinburgh thinking about churches; they went *from* Oxford and Edinburgh thinking about the Church. The Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference, meeting at Clarens, Switzerland, August, 1938, concluded that the main subject of study for the next few years "must be the Church." Accordingly, three Commissions were appointed on (I) The Church, (II) Ways of Worship, and (III) Intercommunion. Dr. R. Newton Flew, of Cambridge, England, was appointed Chairman of the Commission on The Church. It was also voted "that the American Section of the Continuation Committee be requested to appoint a Theological Committee to co-operate with the European Commission in whatever method both groups after due consultation may determine."

II

In response to this resolution the American Committee was selected early in 1939. The manner of election was as follows: A Committee of five members of the Western Section was appointed by the Vice-Chairman, President J. Ross Stevenson of Princeton, N. J. They were requested to procure nominations from the Churches in the Section. About sixty-five nominees were sent to the Committee. The names of the men nominated were sent to each member of the American Section with the request that each vote for eighteen to be members of the Theological Committee. The purpose of this method of election was to secure representatives of the major Churches and of the various views on the nature of the Church, both Catholic and Protestant.

The following men were elected and then appointed by Vice-Chairman Stevenson: President George W. Richards, *Chairman;* Professor Frederick W. Loetscher, *Secretary*; Prof. Henry J. Cadbury (Religious Society of Friends); Prof. W. Owen Carver (Southern Baptist Convention); Provost F. H. Cosgrave (Church of England in Canada); Prof. Clarence T. Craig (Methodist Church); Principal Richard Davidson (United Church of Canada); Prof. Burton Scott Easton (Protestant Episcopal Church); Dr. Douglas Horton (Congregational and Christian Churches); Prof. Walter M. Horton (Congregational and Christian Churches); Pres. Benjamin R. Lacy, Jr. (Presbyterian Church in the U. S.); Prof. Kenneth Scott Latourette (Northern Baptist Convention); Prof. Frederick W. Loetscher (Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.); Principal F. S. Mackenzie (Presbyterian Church in Canada); Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison (Disciples of Christ); Prof. Harris Franklin Rall (Methodist Church); Pres. George W. Richards (Evangelical and Reformed Church); Prof. Henry Pitney Van Dusen (Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.); Prof. Eric H. Wahlstrom (Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod); Prof. Abdel Ross Wentz (United Lutheran Church). Some of the original members of the Committee resigned

for justifiable reasons and the resignations were accepted with regret. Th vacancies were filled and an additional member was elected.

The Committee now consists of the following members:

Rev. William Barclay, D.D.
(Presbyterian Church in Canada)
Central Presbyterian Church
Hamilton, Canada.

Cannon T. Stannage Boyle, D.D.
(Church of England in Canada)
Trinity College, Toronto, Canada.

Prof. B. Harvie Branscomb, Ph.D.
(Methodist Church)
Duke University, Durham, N. C.

Prof. Henry J. Cadbury, Ph.D.
(Religious Society of Friends)
Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.

Prof. W. Owen Carver, D.D.
(Southern Baptist Convention)
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary
Louisville, Ky.

Prof. Clarence T. Craig, D.D.
(Methodist Church)
Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio.

Principal Richard Davidson, D.D.
(United Church of Canada)
Emmanuel College, Toronto, Canada.

Prof. Burton Scott Easton, D.D.
(Protestant Episcopal Church)
General Theological Seminary, New York.

Prof. Winfred E. Garrison, Ph.D.
(Disciples of Christ)
7417 Kingston Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Prof. Walter M. Horton, D.D.
(Congregational Christian Churches)
Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio.

Prof. Kenneth Scott Latourette, Ph.D.
(Northern Baptist Convention)
Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.

Rev. Leicester C. Lewis, S.T.D.
(Protestant Episcopal Church)
Church of St. Martin in the Fields
7737 St. Martin's Lane, Philadelphia, Pa

Prof. Frederick W. Loetscher, D.D.
Secretary
(Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.)
Princeton Theological Seminary,
Princeton, N. J.

Prof. Harris Franklin Rall, D.D.
(Methodist Church)
Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill

Rev. George W. Richards, D.D., *Chairma*
(Evangelical and Reformed Church)
441 College Ave., Lancaster, Pa.

Prof. William C. Robinson, D.D.
(Presbyterian Church in the U. S.)
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Ga.

Prof. Warren W. Slabaugh, D.D.
(Church of the Brethren)
Bethany Biblical Seminary
3435 W. VanBuren Street, Chicago, Ill.

Prof. Theodore G. Tappert, D.D.
(United Lutheran Church)
Lutheran Theological Seminary
Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

Prof. Henry Pitney Van Dusen, D.D.
(Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.)
Union Theological Seminary, New York.

Prof. Eric H. Wahlstrom
(Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod)
Augustana Theological Seminary
Rock Island, Ill.

Prof. Royden Keith Yerkes, Th.D.
(Protestant Episcopal Church)
The University of the South
Sewanee, Tenn.

III

Dr. Flew submitted an outline of the work of the European Commission, providing for a final report in four volumes: (1) Biblical; (2) Historical; (3) Confessional; (4) Dogmatic or Systematic. The third volume is to contain the statements on the Church in the official formularies, the conception of the Church as held today, and the relation between the two.

The American Committee was requested to co-operate with the Theological Commission in the following ways:

1. To read the articles written for the first two volumes as these articles are produced.

2. To consider at a meeting of the American Committee the criticisms made by its members with regard to these articles, and to forward its judgment to the Chairman of the Commission.

3. To arrange for groups within each of the main communions in the United States and Canada to prepare brief statements which would represent the chief convictions as to the nature of the Church held within each such communion today. This would be in preparation for the third volume.

4. To arrange for groups or individuals to work at some synthetic statements in anticipation of the task of Volume IV. These statements would not necessarily be produced with a view to publication, but would provide valuable guidance in the planning and the preparation of the fourth volume.

IV

The American Committee, meeting October 20–21, 1939, in New York, decided to give special consideration to the following topics:

1. The origin and nature of the Christian *koinonia* and its relation to the institutional forms which developed.

2. The relation at the present day of the Christian *koinonia* to the organized Churches.

3. The study of the nature of the Church through a due consideration of its functional activity.

4. The relation of the Church and environment; the effect of environment upon the life, forms and concepts of the Church, as illustrated today in typical areas.

5. The concept of the Church as related to such basic doctrines as those of God, revelation, Christ, and redemption.

6. The sense in which the New Testament is normative for the doctrine of the Church.

7. The Church and the Kingdom of God.

8. The significance of dissent in the life of the Church and for the doctrine of the Church.

These topics were submitted to Dr. Flew and, through him, to as many members of the European Commission as could be consulted. The American Committee was given cordial approval in its choice of topics.

V

The following papers were presented and discussed at meetings held between May 1940 and November 1943.

Time	*Subject*	*Author*
May 31–June 1, 1940		
	The Church in the New Testament.	Easton
	The Kingdom of God and the Church.	Craig
	The Informality of Early Christianity.	Cadbury
	The Kingdom of God and the Church.	W. M. Horton
	The Sense in which the New Testament is Normative for the Doctrine of the Church.	Wahlstrom
	The Sense in which the New Testament is Normative for the Doctrine of the Church.	Mackenzie
November 15–16, 1940		
	By Way of Review (of previous papers).	Branscomb
	Notes on the Doctrine of the Church in the Old Testament and the New Testament.	Davidson
	The Sense in which the New Testament is Normative for the Doctrine of the Church.	Lewis
	The Concept of the Church as Affected by the Underlying Theological Viewpoint.	Rall
	The Significance of Dissent in the Life of the Church and for the Doctrine of the Church.	Loetscher
June 5–6, 1941		
	To the Question of the Normativeness of the New Testament.	Wahlstrom
	The Relation of the Church and the Environment.	Latourette
	The Importance of a Functional Study of the Church.	Carver
	The Significance of Dissent in the Life of the Church and for the Doctrine of the Church.	Richards
November 21–22, 1941		
	Authority in the Early Church.	Garrison
	The Church from the Viewpoint of the Brethren. Prepared by Prof. Malliot, Bethany Biblical Seminary, Chicago, and read by	Slabaugh
	The Society of Friends and the Idea of a Christian Society.	Cadbury
	The Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.	Lewis
	The Distinctive Feature of the Congregational Christian Churches	Douglas Horton
	The Lutheran Doctrine of the Church.	Tappert
May 21–23, 1942		
	Dr. Adolf Keller of Geneva, Switzerland, was invited to be present and took part in the discussions.	
	The Conception of the Church as Held by the Pentecostal Bodies. Prepared by Dr. Elmer T. Clark and read by	Loetscher

The Nature and Function of the Church according to the Reformed and Presbyterian Communions in the United States and Canada.	Richards
Is the New Testament Normative for the Doctrine of the Church?	Slabaugh
Significant Areas of Agreement amid the Diversity in Historical Christianity.	W. M. Horton
Authority in the Early Church: A Summary of Discussion and a Constructive Statement.	Rall
Conservation and Innovation in Christian Beginnings.	Branscomb
The Apostles and the Early Church.	Boyle
The Ethical Reality and Function of the Church: An Ecumenical Program of Work. Substance of this paper with special references to its analysis by Prof. George F. Thomas, Princeton University.	Van Dusen

November 19–21, 1942

Divisive and Unifying Tendencies in Revival Movements with Special Reference to American Christianity.	Latourette
A Distinctive Conception of the Church in the United States in the Mid-nineteenth Century.	Richards
The Methodist Conception of the Church.	Rall
The Functions of the Church in Relation to its Members.	Tappert

July 15–16, 1943

Canon Leonard Hodgson, Christ Church, Oxford, England, General Secretary of the World Conference on Faith and Order, and Dr. Archibald Craig, General Secretary of the British Council of Churches, were present, took part in the discussions, and made brief addresses.

The greater part of the time of these sessions was spent in the reading and revision of the Preliminary Report submitted by Chairman Craig of the Subcommittee.

November 18–20, 1943

"Historical Preface" to the Twelve Papers, based on the answers to the "Questionnaire on the Church."	Richards
The Baptist Conception of the Church.	Carver
The United Church of Canada and the Presbyterian Church in Canada.	Davidson
The Church according to the Disciples of Christ.	Garrison
The Congregational Conception of the Church.	Horton
The Church according to the Episcopalians. Prepared by Lewis and read by	Yerkes
The Methodist Conception of the Church.	Rall
The Presbyterian Conception of the Church.	Loetscher
The Evangelical and Reformed Conception of the Church.	Richards
The remaining "denominational" papers on the Conception	

of the Church will be read at the meeting July 27–29, 1944. Their publication, including the Historical Preface and the Report of Dr. Craig, was referred to an Editorial Committee.

It was assumed that these papers furnish material for discussion and study, and indicate not only the points of agreement but also the deeply divergent conceptions of the Church in the Churches of America. The papers were written by individuals without authority of the communions which they represent. In the interest of clarity a subcommittee, of which Professor Craig was Chairman, drew up a statement on the main points of agreement and disagreement as presented in the papers discussed at the meetings held between May, 1940 and June, 1941. Four main areas were set forth, in which major differences appeared: (1) Continuity and Discontinuity; (2) Norm or Standard; (3) Uniformity; (4) Function.

The report was received with favor and adopted at the meeting of the Committee in New York, November 21–22, 1941.

VI

The American Committee at that time entered upon the second mode of procedure, in order to fulfill the proposal of Dr. Flew (Clarens Report, p. 29), that "groups within each of the main commissions in the United States and Canada prepare brief statements which would represent the chief convictions as to the nature of the Church held within each such communion today."

The Committee accordingly prepared a questionnaire on "The Church," with nine questions, as follows:

1. In what sense did Christ "found" the Church?
2. How does your Church consider that its present organization is related to New Testament doctrine and practice?
3. What are the characteristics of the Church as a fellowship, and what are the conditions of entrance into it, as laid down by your Church? (For example; Is it a fellowship of saints to which only saints are admitted? Does it include only those with whom we are "in communion"? All who name Christ's name? The saints in heaven? The people of the Old Covenant? Who has the power to admit to membership or exclude from membership?)
4. Has your Church a view of the relationship of the Church to Christ on which it lays special stress? (For example: the view that the Church is the continuation of the Incarnation, *or*, that it is a voluntary society for carrying on the work of Christ, *or*, that it is a fellowship ruled by the Spirit of Christ.)
5. What does your Church consider most essential in the message and mission of the Church? (Be brief.)
6. How does your Church conceive of the relation of the Church to the world? to the state? to the Kingdom of God?

7. In what way or ways does your Church consider that it is maintaining the continuity of the true Church of Christ? (For example: preaching the pure Word, right administration of the sacraments, apostolic succession in the ministry, etc.)

8. What significant changes do you note in the thought and practice of your Church in the last hundred years?

9. What do you consider to be the distinctive contribution that your Church has to make to the Church Universal? (If you think that there are some parts of our total Christian heritage which your Church particularly needs to appropriate, you might mention them here also.)

Answers to the above questionnaire, or papers dealing more freely with the issues presented by it, were prepared by members of the Committee representing twelve denominations after consultation with leading men of their respective communions. These papers were read to the Committee, were fully discussed, and were referred to their authors for any further revision or clarification that might be desired. They will be published in the Summer and Autumn 1944 issues of CHRISTENDOM.

The Report which follows was drafted in consequence of a resolution adopted by the Committee on November 20, 1942, "that a subcommittee of six be appointed to draw up a statement setting forth the findings of the Committee as based upon the papers submitted by members." The subcommittee met in May and assigned to Dr. Craig the drafting of this statement, and to the Chairman the writing of this Historical Preface. Dr. Craig's draft was discussed minutely for two days at the meeting of the Committee on July 15 and 16, 1943 and he was requested to revise it in the light of the suggestions made. At the meeting of the Committee November 18–20, 1943 the revised draft was again reviewed at four sessions, and is now presented as embodying the considered judgment of the American Theological Committee.

REPORT ON THE STUDY OF THE CHURCH

DRAFTED BY PROFESSOR CLARENCE T. CRAIG, D.D.

As Chairman of a Subcommittee and approved, after discussion and revision, by the full Committee

IN the study of the Church, the members of the American Theological Committee have shared in the reading and discussion of a large number of separate papers. This has helped to clarify the agreements and disagreements to be found among the various branches of the Church. A clearer perception of both is essential in the promotion of more genuine unity and a World Council of Churches. The aim of this statement is to summarize these discussions and present in a brief but systematic fashion the conceptions which we have been studying together.

At the outset it is important to realize that the English word "church" is used in a wide variety of ways. Some recognize the validity of only a part of these uses; others would accept all as legitimate aspects of the study entrusted to this Committee.

1. The Church is *the people of God* in all ages who have been called by him into his fellowship; this includes those called under the Old as well as the New Covenant.

2. It is a *congregation* of believers in Christ in a local community; sometimes they are enrolled on the basis of their willingness to receive his benefits. Sometimes it includes only those who have manifested real devotion to him. Akin to this usage is the assembling of these members for worship and the building in which they meet.

3. It is an organized *communion* represented in a group of local parishes, which has a common doctrine and polity; some of these groupings follow strictly national or territorial lines; others are bodies which are international in character.

4. It is the total of all such organizations of local, visible communities regarded as *the Church Militant.*

5. Since these bodies comprise both members who are worthy and others who give little evidence of either faith or love, many would distinguish within and beyond the entire body of organized Christianity those who are *the true disciples.* To these, the invisible Church known only to God, they would restrict such designations as "the body of Christ."

6. Finally, there is *the Church Triumphant*, the faithful in all ages who have passed to the eternal world and have entered into the communion of saints.

When these various usages are clearly borne in mind, much misunderstanding can be avoided. The existence of churches in the sense of *congregations* calls for no discussion. In the nature of the case, the *people of God*, the

true disciples, and the *Church Triumphant* are not organizations to be brought together but spiritual realities to be recognized and understood. The first need of many Christians is not to promote changes in the ecclesiastical structures to which they belong, but to be led into a fuller realization of the spiritual reality of which they are already a part. The *problem* of unity concerns the various *communions* and *the Church Militant*. How may the different organized bodies of the people of God be brought into fuller fellowship and greater organizational unity? The ecumenical movement gives itself to the realization of this objective.

But after all, the object of our study is not an English word but a conception which has had a long historic development and has deep roots in other languages. "Church" is derived from the Greek *kyriakē*, an adjective meaning "belonging to the Lord" which was customarily joined with the noun *ecclesia*. It is the latter which was really rendered by "church." Yet this Greek word had of itself no religious associations. It might be used for any kind of political assembly. Its religious significance came from the fact that it had been used in the Septuagint, in the books from Deuteronomy on, to translate the Hebrew word *Qahal*. This was the "people of God," either called out in solemn assembly or ideally looked upon as such. We are dealing then with a conception which roots in Judaism and certainly did not originate with Jesus. In fact, many deny that Jesus ever used any word equivalent to *ecclesia*. In any case, our study must begin with the Old Testament background.

This statement will summarize our papers and discussions under four heads: (1) The Historical Beginnings of the Christian Church; (2) The Norm or Standard of Authority for the Church; (3) Unity and Diversity in Christian History; (4) The Function of the Organized Church. It should be constantly borne in mind that divergent positions are being presented and individual statements do not necessarily receive the approval of the Committee as a whole.

I. The Historical Beginnings of the Christian Church [1]

Two Jewish conceptions were fundamental for the development of the Church. The first was that of the *Qahal*, which expressed the religious unity of the Jews as the one people of God. Israel's prophets felt that she was of God's own choosing. She formed a divine society which had been created by God and was preserved and governed by him; its laws were his laws. As God

[1] The chief papers dealing with this section of the theme were: Richard Davidson, *Notes on the Doctrine of the Church in the Old Testament and the New;* Clarence T. Craig, *The Kingdom of God and the Church in the New Testament;* Burton S. Easton, *The Church in the New Testament;* Henry J. Cadbury, *The Informality of Early Christianity;* Stannage Boyle, *The Apostles and the Early Church;* B. Harvie Branscomb, *Conservation and Innovation in Christian Beginnings;* also sections in papers referred to below by Harris F. Rall and George W. Richards.

was a God of judgment, punishment might fall even on his people, for they had sinned in violating his law. But in God's mercy and in his steadfast purpose to create for himself a holy people, at least a "remnant" would be saved. They were not the "escaped" but the "saved." This Jewish conception of the people of God was basic for Christian thought; even one who like Paul made the work of Christ definitive for salvation still referred to the whole Church, Gentile as well as Jewish, as the "Israel of God" and the "seed of Abraham."

Closely allied was the other Jewish conception of *the kingdom* or rule of God. God as creator was king in the world which he had made. But because of sin, the perfect rule of God was not found on earth. It was confined to the devout who "took on themselves the yoke of the kingdom" by recognizing the sovereignty of God in obedience to his Law. But the time would come when the kingdom of evil would be overthrown and replaced by the consummated rule of God. The resurrection and the judgment would accompany that great day when God would assert his power. Instead of the people of God being under the heel of Gentile domination, "the saints of the Most High" would rule.

Jesus made the idea of the Kingdom of God central in his message and work. He began his ministry with the announcement, "Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand." He sought an inner renewal of Israel in view of the imminent coming of the kingdom with power. On the one hand, entrance to this Kingdom was a gift of God to "the poor," the group gathered by the preaching of Jesus. On the other, it was the supreme object of man's striving, one for which he must be willing to pay any sacrifice. The impending crisis brought a division among men. Since Israel as a whole did not repent, it meant doom and judgment to those who could not read the signs of the times. Few were finding the narrow gate that led to life.

Alongside this eschatological teaching in the gospels stand other teachings which indicate belief in a certain presence of the kingdom in the work of Jesus. Especially the demon exorcisms and the other healings are interpreted as evidence that the Messianic prophecies were already being fulfilled. Jesus was actually gathering the outcasts of Israel and in some way constituting the new Israel before the great day came.

Some modern interpreters understand this to mean that Jesus was launching the Messianic kingdom. They point to the parables of growth as evidence that the Kingdom was already present. They think that in choosing the Twelve, Jesus was setting up a leadership for the body that should develop from their work of preaching the gospel. They see in this the plan of Jesus for the development of a divine society on earth.

Others, however, insist that these words about the presence of the Kingdom in no sense eliminate the eschatological orientation of the teaching of

Jesus. The group which responded to the teaching of Jesus was the "remnant," in a sense, the true *ecclesia*. Yet they did not form a separate worshiping congregation, at least not before the Last Supper. The message which the Twelve were to preach concerned primarily the *future* Kingdom, and the only rule assigned to them was when they would sit on thrones judging the tribes of Israel. Their very number was symbolic of the eschatological reconstitution of the people of God. Yet it has been contended in the Committee that nowhere in the New Testament is any prerogative assigned to the Twelve which was not shared by the other Christians. Paul certainly expected that all believers would rule with Christ.

Despite the differences of opinion at this point, most members of the Committee would agree that Jesus did not intentionally found a new religion. His religious and ethical teaching stood in direct continuity with the best thought of his people. Yet Jesus did come into conflict with the leadership of the contemporary Judaism because he stood so definitely in the prophetic tradition. In many ways he showed an attitude of freedom in dealing with the requirements of the national Law. His aim was less to compete with the authoritative expounders of the Law than to face individuals with an absolute ethic. This was the perfect will of God which belonged to his Kingdom and which was the standard of the repentance to which men were called. This liberal ferment in the teaching of Jesus firmly implanted the spirit of innovation in the Christian movement. Though in Jeremiah the new covenant was an inward renewal of the old covenant with Israel, when the early Christians associated that word with Jesus, it came to be interpreted in terms of radical opposition to the old.

The crucifixion of Jesus did not end the movement which he inaugurated. His disciples were soon proclaiming not simply the message of Jesus but further convictions about him. This Jesus was the Anointed or the Christ who would rule in the coming kingdom. God had vindicated him by raising Jesus from the dead; the promised Spirit had been sent, the assurance of final salvation. At first the disciples made no break with Judaism but continued to join in the worship of synagogue and Temple. Only as the main company of the Jews refused to accept these beliefs and roundly opposed them did "those of the Way," whom Jews called the "sect of the Nazarenes," become a separate body.

As more and more Gentiles accepted the message and were not compelled to become obedient to the whole Jewish Law, the separation of the believers in the Messiahship of Jesus from the main body of Jews became increasingly definitive. Though there were some Jewish Christians who would keep Gentiles in the position of second-class members, full brotherhood with those from all races was ultimately to triumph. Christ had broken down the middle wall of partition and made of both Jew and Gentile one new people.

They applied to themselves all of the holy names for the "people of God," as they were found in the Old Testament. Among these was the *ecclesia*. It was used to refer either to the Christians worshiping in one place or to the universal body of believers. The organization was now entirely separate from Judaism and one early ascribed to the authority of Christ himself.

Upon these facts, all are in essential agreement, but there are several details upon which considerable disagreement remains. First, there are those who look upon the period during which there were appearances of the risen Christ as a time when specific instructions for the organization of the Church were communicated to the apostles. The nature of these is to be read from the actual development which took place. In addition, there were given the command to baptize, powers of absolution, and the charge to evangelize the whole world. Others point to the gradual realization of these responsibilities. They would look upon all words assigned to the risen Christ as akin to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. That this guidance was real these believe to be seen from the results, but such words are regarded in a different light from those uttered by Jesus before his death.

Again, there are those who believe that a fixed organizational pattern was prescribed from a very early time. The apostles and their delegates directed the spread of the Church during the first generation. The need to perpetuate their work led to the succession of bishops who should preserve and safeguard the gospel message. The extremes of the charismatic ministry hastened the adoption of a settled and authoritative liturgical and evangelistic leadership. This was to result in the adoption of a uniform monepiscopacy[2] in the second century. Some believe that the authoritative pattern was reached before this stage. It is to be found in the leadership of a group of presbyters or bishops, or, as others hold, in the individual, independent congregation. Others, who agree that there was authoritative leadership from the beginning, call attention to the evidence for rivalries in leadership, especially between James, the brother of Jesus, and Peter. They believe that the historical evidence points toward the primacy of the church at Jerusalem rather than to any authority possessed by a body of apostles.

On the other hand, there are those who find an extremely informal type of fellowship in the Early Church. It has been suggested that membership was not in any institution, but believers belonged to a supernatural person; baptism was not initiation into a Church, but a ceremony expressing or conferring relationship to a person. Some lay stress upon the term *koinōnia* or fellowship. They think of the Church as an informal fellowship which gathered about the person of Jesus, continuing his spirit and gradually evolving such leadership and forms of organization as served the perpetua-

[2] The organization of the Church in dioceses, each under a single bishop.

tion of that fellowship. The early Church was an organism rather than an institution; for instance, amid spontaneous worship Paul called not for a moderator but for individual moderation. But in facing the twin dangers of reversion to legalism and running into libertinism, the *koinōnia* of the saved became an *ecclesia*, an institution of salvation. Convenience, habit, and external pressure gradually brought uniformity within this most informal fellowship.

Still others believe that each of the preceding emphases may involve undue modernization. They believe that both fail to give full recognition to the eschatological nature of the Church as it was in the first century. The apostles were not founding an institution but gathering a people who were waiting for the coming of the Lord Jesus. Nor were there simply fellowships of persons captivated by a new spirit of brotherhood instilled by Jesus. The believers were then sharing in the Spirit and even in material goods, and they would soon be joined together in the eschatological Kingdom of God. They did have a complete sense of oneness. There could not be more than one Church of God for there was one Spirit and one baptism and one Lord who was the Redeemer of his Church. But it was a unity which came not from any organizational framework but from the fact that they all belonged to the one people of God whose salvation had come through Christ and would be completed at his coming with power. This Church was a building erected on him as the one foundation; it was his body, of which all of those baptized were severally members; it was his bride, which must be kept pure, waiting union with him.

II. The Norm or Standard of Authority for the Church [3]

The study of the New Testament teaching and the historical development of the Early Church raises a further important question. To what degree do the results obtained from this study present a norm or standard? Is there some authoritative pattern which has been laid down, or does the Spirit blow where it will, using varied types of organizational expression? Where is authority to be found *in* the Church and *for* the Church? Although all of the members of the Committee accept the general principles of historical study in the treatment of the Bible, the type of authority assigned to its testimony is very different.

First of all, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of what we mean by *authority*. This calls for a distinction between the *ultimate source* of authority and the one to whom authority might be delegated. The latter

[3] No less than four papers were presented on the theme, *The Sense in Which the New Testament is Normative for the Doctrine of the Church*. These were by F. S. Mackenzie, Eric H. Wahlstrom, Leicester C. Lewis, and Warren W. Slabaugh. Papers on *Authority in the Early Church* were read by W. E. Garrison, and also a discussion by H. F. Rall. The latter's paper on *The Concept of the Church as Affected by the Underlying Theological Viewpoint* bore on the issues of this section.

possesses only a derived authority. One must also recognize *channels* through which authoritative teaching and discipline pass.

Again, there is a clear distinction between authority in *teaching* and authority in *rule*. We designate as an authority one who knows what has been learned in a given field to date (recognizing that this is in no sense final). On the other hand, we describe as authorities those persons or institutions which assert the right to command and possess the means to enforce that claim. In the first case, authority does not rest upon any assertion of power but on the inherent witness of the truth. In the latter, there is power to enforce decisions irrespective of their validity. When this distinction is applied to the field of the Church, one is a strictly *religious* authority; the other is *ecclesiastical* and can be exercised only through an organized institution.

In the field of religion, we are all agreed that God and only God is the *ultimate* authority. He has the right to command absolute obedience; on him all life is dependent. Some desire to add that Jesus is an ultimate authority. With the spirit of this assertion all would concur, but when it is carefully examined it raises many difficult problems. Just what part of the tradition is to be accepted as literally from him? On what subjects are words of Jesus final? In practice, even the most Biblically-minded *select* what is authoritative for them. In the New Testament, Jesus is the revealer of God and the redeemer of men, but it is much less clear in what sense this belief solves the problem of authority. To raise the question of the authority of Jesus, as a matter of fact, throws us back on the *channels* of information about him, — (1) the earliest Christian writings, the New Testament, (2) the Church which produced and preserved them, and (3) the continuing guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Instead of speaking of *channels* of authority, many would prefer to use the phrase "sources of guidance" as a more accurate description of their function. Among the chief sources of guidance are *Scripture*, the *Church*, and the *interior witness* of the Holy Spirit. Yet the relative importance assigned to them varies greatly and depends upon a man's total interpretation of Christianity. One does not function in isolation from the others, but men lay the greater stress on one or another.

Members of the Committee have insisted upon the final authority of the New Testament at many individual points. But in looking back over the discussions, it is impossible to recall anyone who consistently made the *entire* New Testament authoritative. Those who today reject bishops might appeal to the fact that the New Testament *episcopoi* had no such function as a modern bishop. Those who support congregational independency have appealed to terminology and practices reported in the New Testament. Yet no one has attempted to say that the New Testament is authoritative in every detail. The historian might reply that the divergent positions

within the New Testament make that inevitable. The representative of a group, supposed by many to be rigid in insistence upon conformity to the details of the Bible, put his position in these words, "The New Testament is authority for those forms of organization which best preserve the spirit of love and humility which was in Christ."

For some, the seat of authority and the rule of faith, life, and worship is *the Bible* as the written Word of God read in the light of its fundamental message, the grace of God in Jesus Christ. Christian preaching, (1) as bound to this Word, (2) as centered in God reconciling the world unto Himself in Christ, and (3) as applied by the Holy Spirit, is a primary mark of the Church. In so far as the Church lives by the Word and Spirit, it has authority to proclaim, interpret, and enforce the law of Christ, the King, in so far as given in Scripture.

Others who lay the emphasis on the centrality of the *Word of God* do not identify this with a book, but with the message about God's creative and redemptive acts. The Bible is itself a product of the saving activity of God and is not an authority apart from the Spirit and the Church. These are necessary to save us from literalism on the one hand and individualism upon the other. The authority of the New Testament is absolute in so far as it brings us the Word of God and his grace. This message is found by the guidance of the Spirit and normally within the fellowship of the Church. But there is no binding authority in any of the institutions which the New Testament presupposes. These have only a functional value, and are always relative to particular times and circumstances.

Others would lay the emphasis upon *the Church* itself as the channel of authority. It is historically more basic than the New Testament, because the first generation of Christians had not so much as heard that there could be a New Testament. Since the New Testament documents were written in and for the Church, and their acceptance as a sacred canon rests upon the decision of the Church, it is correct to say that the Church was normative for the New Testament. The reversal of this historic position is not only untenable, but has proved the source of controversy, division, and confusion. The Church is the living and continuous channel of authority, able to bring forth out of its treasury things both new and old. If it could bring forth authoritatively the New Testament, it could also with equal authority bring forth the creed and the ministry.

Still others would lay the primary emphasis on the ever-present *guidance of the Spirit*. They believe that it is a misapprehension of Christian truth to identify it with a solid body of doctrine which needs an infallible earthly interpreter. Fixed statements of ideas and institutions are historical expressions which have only instrumental value. The living God is not to be thought of in terms of a dualistic supernaturalism in which revelation is

infallible and unchangeable. On the contrary, God reveals himself to us within the limitations of the empirical, human, and historical. Hence, to seek an external authority of any kind is to look for what does not exist. Agreement cannot be brought about among adherents of discrepant absolutes until they come to admit that these have all been brought forth in a historical movement in which there is much that is relative along with the abiding. This does not mean an anarchy of values or individual caprice, but it does recognize the authority of God who is the eternal and living Spirit.

The membership of the Committee and the Churches which they represent fall into two very distinct groups. Each group is very diverse in its complexion, but on the issue of norm or authority the watershed between them is definite.

(a) There is a group which believes that a divinely ordained norm for the constitution and practice of the Church exists and that departure from it must therefore be disobedience to the will of God. Some find it in an episcopal form of organization which transmits by regular succession the valid teaching and grace. Some find it in the presbytery which affords the divinely appointed continuity. Some find equally binding sanction for congregational autonomy. All three types of Churches hold that some form of baptism is a definite condition of membership, but some find believer's baptism by immersion to be an essential feature of the divinely established order. Still other definite requirements are laid down as authoritative standards without which the Church would not properly exist. Different as these teachings are, their representatives agree at one crucial point. Somewhere in the historic tradition is something normative for the constitution and practice of the Church. To enter into any union which did not make this particular requirement would be a denial of the authority of God in the channel through which it is recognized.

(b) The second group is also united by a common conviction. They recognize the authority of God in church organization and practice, but do not believe that this is expressed in norms that have been communicated in specific and unchanging patterns. From their study of history, these find no divinely authorized pattern of the Church. They believe that the appeal to development as validating any particular form of government as normative is fallacious because the laws of biological growth and of institutional change are entirely different. They recognize the nature of religion as corporate and the need for church order. They appreciate the presumptive value of what has been historically tested. But they do not believe that any given stage in the Church's life may be made a binding law for the Church of today. They recognize the sacramental principle, but would not limit God's saving grace to specific historic rites. In the interest of Church unity,

this group would gladly join with those who hold differing opinions in these various areas. But they would not assent to the position that there are many devoted followers of Christ who lack something essential for belonging to the body of Christ. To agree that the particular form of organization adopted, whatever it might be, was *necessary* for the existence of the Church as such would mean nothing less than to deny their convictions concerning the will of God.

The different conceptions of the Church represented in the Christian world, and in this Committee, might also be classified in two groups on the basis of the answers that would be given to this question: Is it possible for a number of Christians (laymen) to organize themselves into a local church which will be an authentic part of the whole Church? The issue presented is not whether the Church is a divine creation or a human construct. There is a wholly different issue between two types of thought, both of which hold that the Church is Christ's Church, that its origin was in the mind of God, and that it is informed by the Holy Spirit. One of these would answer Yes, the other No, to the question which has been posed.

To make the matter a little more concrete, let us assume a hypothetical case — which is rather a generalized description of a situation that has arisen many times in history. A number of Christians find themselves isolated from every organized church having or claiming continuity of structure or ministry with the Church of the first century. This may have come about through migration to a new country or through their voluntary separation from a Church which has, in their judgment, become hopelessly corrupt and will not reform. They do not conceive that they have withdrawn from the Church of Christ by their migration or separation; they have created a chasm — geographical or social, as the case may be — between themselves and the particular ecclesiastical institution with which they were formerly connected. They have no ordained ministry, and they have no authorization from any ecclesiastical body for anything that they may do. They believe that they have the gospel, and they want a ministry and the sacraments and desire to constitute a local church which shall be an authentic unit in the Church Universal. Can these desires be satisfied without recourse to any outside ecclesiastical authority? Is the nature of that Universal Church, in which they wish their little group to have a place, such that this is possible, or is it not?

While the division on all these points is entirely friendly, it presents obstacles to any form of organic unity which must not be minimized. Its seriousness arises from the depth of religious conviction which underlies each position. Furthermore, we recognize that no one has a right to ask another to be false to the will of God as he sees it. Progress in historical studies on the material dealt with in the previous section of this report does not indi-

cate that fuller knowledge in this field alone will dissipate these differences of opinion. Advance must also be sought through deeper insight into the meaning of the Christian faith. The transcending of these differences is important, for many hold that, so long as Christ's Church is divided, no single group can establish the claim to embody all that is essential to the body of Christ. They look toward a united Church which shall embrace diverse forms now regarded as essential by contrasted traditions.

III. Unity and Diversity in Christian History [4]

The present differences concerning the norm or standard of the Church reflect the fact that there has been much lack of uniformity throughout Christian history. The prevalence of dissent and the reasons for this have occupied much of the attention of the Committee. Dissent and division may indicate intellectual pride and rebellion against proper authority. On the other hand, they may indicate the fructifying ferment of the Spirit of God protesting against the decay of organizations intended to serve the truth, and against the obscuring of that truth by those who should have made it effective.

Those who lay stress upon the Church's continuity point out that, while particular forms of dissent appear (and sometimes reappear) in different periods of history, a clear distinction is to be drawn between the continuous tradition of the visible Christian fellowship and these movements of protest or special emphasis which lead to a break in fellowship. Frequently such dissent becomes the occasion for formulating the mind of the Christian Church on the particular question at issue, and often it proves a successful attempt to recover neglected truth or to express new insights, so that the fullness of the faith grows by the very elements that at first appear divisive. Yet these would insist that, no matter how prevalent and beneficial, dissent is not the central fact of Christian history; it is significant only in its witness to the central fact of continuity.

The view just expressed is not the view most prevalent in the American Churches. The pioneering spirit, which has been an American characteristic since Colonial days, has created a tendency toward nonconformity rather than conformity. Yet it must be insisted that American dissent does not deny the fact of continuity in Christian history nor the existence of deep-lying unities amid all the diversities of the Christian movement. Each dissenting group believes in its *spiritual* continuity with Christ and

[4] The themes in this discussion were treated in the following papers: *The Significance of Dissent in the Life of the Church and for the Doctrine of the Church* was dealt with by both Frederick W. Loetscher and George W. Richards; Kenneth S. Latourette wrote on *The Relation of the Church to the Environment* and on *Divisive and Unifying Tendencies in Revival Movements;* Walter M. Horton wrote on *The Kingdom of God and the Church* and also on *Significant Areas of Agreement amid the Diversity in Historical Christianity.*

he apostles even though the line of institutional continuity is broken. When institutional continuity is deliberately broken, it is assumed to be for the sake of restoring a spiritual continuity which has been threatened by inertia and corruption. When the faith of the majority is opposed, it is with the conviction that "one man with God constitutes a majority." If the unity of Christianity is temporarily sacrificed, there is an abiding faith in the fundamental unity of all true Christians.

Despite these differences of emphasis, both groups recognize the presence of elements of unity and diversity in Christian history. In a very real sense, Jesus was a dissenter within the Church of his time in his reaffirmation of prophetic religion and in his protest against ruling interpretations of Sabbath observance and true defilement. The differences of opinion within the apostolic Church were very real. Though the Judaists, who insisted upon circumcision for the Gentiles, did not win the support of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, neither did Paul win them to the full recognition of the universalistic position which would grant unrestricted table fellowship to the Gentiles. Against the Judaizers Paul insisted that salvation was only by grace, to be received through faith. It was on the question of the appropriation of salvation that many of the later divisions within the Church were to arise. For Paul, Christian salvation was due entirely to the free act of God's love. But in the next generation Christian salvation was often interpreted in terms of obedience to the new law. Later still there arose the Greek view of salvation as the imparting of heavenly (sacramental) food.

While the Trinitarian and Christological controversies had little direct effect on ecclesiology, the controversies with Donatism and Pelagianism did have considerable influence. To the subjective and spiritualistic conception of the Church, as taught by the Donatists, Augustine opposed his objective and realistic theory. The moral unworthiness of the representatives of the Church did not invalidate the blessings of which it was the trustee. In his anti-Pelagian works, however, Augustine made salvation depend on the election of grace rather than on membership in an institution. The elect might be outside as well as inside the organization of the Church. This duality in the thought of the great African Father illustrates the way in which the doctrine of the Church developed in relation to the changing problems which were faced.

The differing trends of the Churches in the East and the West during the Middle Ages had little relation to questions of doctrine. The decisions of the Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries provided a common intellectual basis in terms of Greek thought, but the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches drifted apart because of the different backgrounds and environments of the two regions. The East lacked the cultural and linguistic unity which enabled the Roman See to maintain an absolute supremacy.

In the West the power of the state was increasingly used to enforce conformity. Yet here also there never failed to be opposition from nonconforming groups even at the pinnacle of papal power, and later from the adherents of the developing national movements.

When the Reformation stressed the supremacy of Scripture over tradition, salvation by faith only, and the priesthood of all believers, the inevitable corollary was a different conception of the Church. Both Luther and Calvin were led to a more or less close relation of the Church to the state. Anabaptists and other independents repudiated this connection. The divisions between the Reformers concerning the meaning of the Lord's Supper did not simply represent intolerant strife about words. Real differences between their respective conceptions of the Church were in the background. These men show how the power of the gospel lies in its personal rediscovery by great souls through succeeding generations. In the later age of Rationalism, some thought of the Church simply as an organization which men voluntarily formed for the worship of God.

This sociological view has found no support within our Committee, yet the effect of the environment in moulding the developing life of the Church has been clearly recognized by all. It is to be seen in connection with the transformations in the life of the Church down the centuries. The distinctiveness of many religious bodies has been due to the fact that they arose among the under-privileged groups. In the tremendous expansion of the Church during the nineteenth century environmental factors left their unmistakable impress. The particular characteristics of the American scene have conditioned the development of the Church in the United States of America. Similar results have followed in Canada, Latin America, and Asia. It is very easy for a person, immersed in the Christianity of his own culture, to take that as the norm and to look upon other expressions as deviations from that norm. It is very difficult for adherents of state Churches and free Churches to appreciate the ideology underlying the other's position. Some Europeans have talked about "American Christianity" and some Americans in turn have referred to "Continental Christianity" as if both were not authentic expressions of our faith.

One of the most important points of difference in the history of Christianity has been that on the relationship between the Kingdom of God and the Church. In the early days, when the millennial hope was prominent, the Church looked upon itself as enjoying a foretaste of the Kingdom while looking for its consummation. In the Middle Ages, the Church believed itself to represent the present reign of Christ. In the East, the reign of Christ was thought to be realized in the Christian Empire; in the West, in the Roman Church. Original Protestantism stressed the eternal sovereignty of God, though "theocracy" was more characteristic of the Calvinistic than

of the Lutheran position. In American Christianity, this sequence has been largely reversed. Beginning with theocracy, we passed through the revivalistic emphasis on the present reign of Christ to the future reference of premillennialism. The social gospel, which has been prominent in recent American Christianity, posited quite an original relationship between the two. It laid the emphasis on the Church as God's chief instrument for establishing his rule in the social order.

Since revivalism has been such a characteristic feature of American Christianity, it seemed appropriate for the Committee to give attention to its effect on division and unity within the Church. Until the nineteenth century, revivals usually gave birth to new divisions. It is true that monasticism was usually channeled within the Church; even the Franciscan movement was kept in obedience to the Papacy. Yet many sects were born of revival movements, both before and after the Reformation. But the later revivals have tended to cut across denominational boundaries and create similar experience in many groups. Neither Charles G. Finney nor Dwight L. Moody, the outstanding revivalists of the nineteenth century, gave rise to new denominations. On the contrary, those influenced by these revivals created new interdenominational agencies and organizations. The interdenominational student movement has fructified many groups with similar experiences and produced leadership of ecumenical vision. While the Catholic revival in the Anglican communion has its divisive aspects, it has likewise contributed very much to the zeal for Christian unity. The tremendous revival of missionary effort in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has also contributed to Christian union. An obligation to transfer to mission fields the divisions which have arisen in Western Churches has been difficult to defend.

Lack of uniformity has been abundantly clear from many angles. Where, then, are the areas of agreement to be found? It is not merely a question of the points upon which the representatives joining in this study find themselves in unity today. We must think of the Church through the centuries; we must include also the Roman Catholic branch of Christianity, and the Orthodox bodies. Although the latter are but a small minority in the United States, they must have a significant part in any complete union of the Church. Can formulas be found which include all these, or must we agree with certain historians that there are only Christianities in the plural, for no entity common to all can be discovered?

Some would hold that there is no set of invariable rational concepts which has been universally held. In part this is true because the most profound theological ideas involve paradox, and there is always the temptation to give too exclusive attention to one side or the other. This situation tends to exaggerate the real extent of difference and leave out the wide agree-

ments. The Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order showed that th representatives of the Churches could come to essential agreement on th Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. They were able to join in a significant af firmation of union in allegiance to him. They were in complete agreemen that God is love; that he commended his love toward us, in that, while w were yet sinners, Christ died for us; that the kingdom of this world shal become the kingdom of our Lord. Very real elements of unity have alse been sought and found in the realms of experience and purpose. Deepe than intellectual interpretations have been fellowship in an experienc of God and dedication to his will. The succession of faith is very real.

Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, a broad and universal agreement lies in the very idea of the Church itself as the people of God. It has been truly saic that this is the most original aspect of our faith. Most religions have priest and temples, liturgies and codes of conduct, but the idea of the Church is characteristic of Biblical religion in which all Christian groups share in some way. All acknowledge one God as Founder of the Church. They recognize a covenant between a God who is faithful and a people whose faithlessness is ever overcome by him "whose mercy endures forever." This Church has been brought together by the revealing, redeeming act of God in Christ, whose purpose has its consummation in a redeemed people.

There are other genuine elements of unity which must be included. Despite differences in detail on ethical questions, all recognize demands of conduct in the service of men which are also in obedience to the will of God as made manifest in Jesus. Though the forms of worship may differ, all bow in similar expressions of penitence, thanksgiving, and faith; in the words of the Lord's Prayer, they join in common petitions. Though the forms and interpretations may differ, the sacraments or ordinances of baptism and Holy Communion have their place in almost all Christian Churches, ones hallowed by associations more sacred than any mere, arbitrary command. Finally, there is real unity in the mission and function of the Church, to make known to all humanity the saving purpose of God and his redeeming grace in Christ.

IV. The Function of the Organized Church [5]

This brings us to the last phase of our study, that of the function of the Church. Naturally this concerns primarily the definitions of the Church which deal with its organizational aspects. Among many people, there has been widespread misunderstanding of the slogan, "Let the Church be the

[5] W. Owen Carver presented a paper on *The Importance of a Functional Study of the Church;* T. G. Tappert dealt with *The Functions of the Church toward its own Members;* and Henry P. Van Dusen discussed *The Ethical Reality and Function of the Church.* Mention should also be made of the valuable paper by George W. Richards on *A Distinctive Conception of the Church in the United States in the Mid-Nineteenth Century.*

Church." They fear that this means the turning of ecclesiastical institutions into ends in themselves rather than means to an end. That is a perennial danger. Yet once the primary conception is attained that the Church is the people of God, then there is a sense in which the Church is an end in itself. It is a mistake to reduce the Church to a mere means in one's zeal for a "kingdom" often interpreted in a quite secular fashion. The Church which witnesses to God's eternal reign is *both* an end *and* a means.

It is chiefly through its institutional expressions that the function of the Church can be realized in the world. For what does the Church exist? What are the objectives of Christianity? To what extent would a unification of organized bodies really promote these objectives? Some believe that as long as there is so much of the world in our present organizations, it is doubtful whether it would promote the saving of the world to unite them. The power of the Church comes only through a new devotion to its task, not through alterations in the machinery of its organization. They feel that the prayer of Jesus as recorded in the Gospel of John, "That they all may be one," is misinterpreted when it is applied to the unification of organized bodies.

On the other hand, there is a great and growing conviction that the successful prosecution of the function of the Church is seriously interfered with by its organizational divisions. The world of today must be faced by a united Church. The real unity which already exists must find visible and corporate expression if the Christian purpose is to find its fullest realization. The true function of the Church cannot be fully carried out if this condition of separated Churches obscures our assurance that there is one body, one Spirit, and one hope, "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all."

But what more specifically is this function and what are these tasks? Clearly the answer falls into two main divisions. There is the function of the Church toward the world in which it is set. There is also the function of the Church toward its own members.

(a) The importance of a searching consideration of the ethical task of the Church in the world is widely recognized. Little formal consideration has been given to that here, however, because it is the field for the studies undertaken by the Life and Work Department of the World Council of Churches. Since the chairman of that study is also a member of our own Committee, he was asked to lead a discussion on the monographs which had been prepared thus far. It is clear that the Churches in America have moved far from the traditional positions which have been held in the past. The ethical function is not thought of in terms of a *corpus Christi* which preserves its purity by withdrawal from the world, nor does much remain today of a *corpus Christianum*, a civilization whose Christian character is to be maintained through the close relationship of Church and state. Yet the function

of the Church in the world is an extremely varied one. It seeks to bring its gospel to every phase of individual and social need. It seeks to spread the gospel to the end of the world by testimony of faith and deeds of love. It seeks to minister to all the ills of humanity at the same time that it strives for the coming of a social order expressing more fully our Christian ideals.

(b) In relation to its own members, the function of the Church lies in three main areas: in teaching, in worship, and in service. The Church must bring the gospel home to its members in a vital, experiential way. The ethical demand of a God whose righteousness and holiness bring all men under his judgment; the forgiving grace of God as known pre-eminently in the sacrificing love of Christ; the sustaining power of God as experienced in the Holy Spirit: the Church is the steward of these truths, which are not self-evident postulates of reason but the Word of God for men. Again, it is a function of the Church to realize and express its life in worship. Faced by this revelation of God, man must learn to respond in adoration and praise, in thanksgiving and confession, in petition and intercession. In private and corporate worship, its members receive of the divine gifts and come into communion with him who is the source of their life. Finally, the Church must lead its members to express their faith in righteousness and love. The love of God is the supreme motive for Christian living, and Christlike love for our fellowmen is the evidence that our lives have truly been redeemed by him. It is the function of the Church to reveal that spirit in service to every kind of human need, and to stimulate its members to the same self-giving service.

Besides these three services, the Church provides its members with a distinctive fellowship. It does for them what the home does for the family. It unites its members with one another and breaks down walls of partition. It stimulates mutual love and service and enhances other grounds for human friendship and co-operation. Such fellowship is both the source and the result of life in the Church and thus grows deeper and deeper. The life of this fellowship is from above, for our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ.

Both historically and metaphysically the Church's function may be regarded as one of carrying on and extending the work of the earthly life of Jesus. In his spirit his followers have continued to preach and to teach, to fill up what was lacking in his sufferings, and to exemplify his character. Jesus sent them forth as he was sent forth. He promised them not only rejection like his, but the doing of greater works than he did, and the sharing of his glory. To some extent at least, the Church may claim to represent Jesus in revealing God and in exercising authority.

What is the Church? It is the sphere of God's salvation in the present, and it is prophetic of his ultimate triumph in the Kingdom of God. It is con-

stituted by the revelation of his grace in Jesus Christ. Its message is the gospel of redemptive love. It is marked by the presence of his Holy Spirit with all of its evidence of divine power. It is the people who have given allegiance to God in response to his gracious call. It is a body witnessing to his rule by their trust and obedience. This Church is set in the midst of a world where God's will is not yet done. The forms of organization exist to maintain its life and proclaim the message to the needs of men down the ages. They are simply earthly vessels which help to protect the heavenly treasure in the midst of its earthly task. But all of the branches must be truly united in order to witness to the rule of God in a Church Militant. For they all look forward to the Church Triumphant, which is the Kingdom of God.

NOTE AND COMMENT

THE MOST RAPIDLY GROWING AMERICAN DENOMINATIONS

DISCUSSIONS at the Washington Christian Unity Conference and recent articles in the *Christian Century* have called fresh attention to the extraordinary growth, compared with that of the better-established churches, of religious groups which may roughly be characterized as the emotional sects. With minor differences, these groups commonly expect the speedy second coming of Christ to earth; they seek holiness through the radical separation from the ways of the world; and they claim supernatural gifts of tongues, healing, etc. Thirty-four denominations of this type have increased their aggregate membership by more than 100 per cent since 1926, while the old-line churches were increasing by only twenty-five per cent. It is by no means true, however, that all the churches of this type are growing. Many show the characteristics of Jonah's gourd, springing up in a night and perishing in a night. Twelve sects with less than 5,000 members each actually declined by fifteen per cent since 1926; and, in spite of their very great rate of gain, the irregular denominations constitute not more than five per cent of the total Protestant membership of the nation, — so that all their divisions put together numerically count for little as against the unification of over seven million Methodists, to say nothing of many other unions.

FOR THE RECOVERY OF THE *CORPUS CHRISTIANUM*

THE recent British *White Paper* on education is a strong testimony to the conviction that religion is essential to the solidarity and health of a people. In setting forth the British government's plans for educational

reconstruction it voices "a very general wish that religious educatio should be given a more profound place in the schools, springing from th desire to revive the spiritual and personal values in our society and in ou national practices." Paragraph 26 reads:

> We are concerned to see preserved, or born, a genuinely Christian civilisation This we take to mean, not a civilisation all of whose members are necessaril professing Christians, but one in which the Christian belief in God and all that i consequent upon it of human liberty and brotherhood, the Christ-like ideal o life, and the preservation of the fundamental ideas of truth, goodness and beauty set the tone for society.

This aspiration to "set the tone for society" implies a re-establishmen of a corporate version of Christianity embodied in the national life, an strongly contrasts with prevailing Continental pessimism (as well as wit the attitudes of the emotional sects) with respect to the relations of th church to the "world."